

# Antiquity

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## The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland

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1. THE EARLY CHRISTIAN MONUMENTS OF SCOTLAND. By J. Romilly Allen. Edinburgh. 1903. Cited as E.C.M.S.

2. THE EARLY CHRISTIAN MONUMENTS OF SCOTLAND. By Cecil L. Curle (C. L. Mowbray). *Procs. Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1941, LXXIV, 60-115. Pagination cited from volume.

THE early Christian monuments of Scotland have not received the attention which they deserve since Romilly Allen published his descriptive catalogue in 1903.<sup>1</sup> New discoveries since that date, and a fuller study of the analogous carvings in neighbouring areas, have made necessary some revision of the ideas then current. The investigation is rendered more difficult by the individual character of the series and by the rarity of stones bearing inscriptions. Mrs Curle, in a recent paper<sup>2</sup> has boldly attacked the main problem, that of the monuments north of the Forth, the symbol stones and cross-slabs generally attributed to the Picts. Her thesis does not attempt to cover the whole field but is rather 'an endeavour to establish a classification and a tentative chronology and to review the comparative material' (p. 60). The conclusions to which her survey have led the author show a wide divergence from those of earlier writers, and the chronology proposed is revolutionary. To illustrate these points it will suffice to quote *in extenso* the admirable summary provided at the end of the paper (p. 111-3):

'There was first an early group of simple engraved Christian monuments in Ireland and the west of Scotland derived from funerary monuments of the Brito-Roman Church. Then in the middle of the

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seventh century came the development of a more complex decoration : carving in low relief, the first appearance of a Christian iconography, the elaboration of the slab, and, before the end of the century, the first free-standing crosses in Ireland. This art was in use also in Scottish Dalriada. Next there came a transitional group in Scotland, in Pictish territory, of monuments which are partly Christian, partly Pictish "symbol stone," and at the same time there were a number of cross-slabs that were almost purely Irish in character. In the eighth century came the development of the Church in Pictish Scotland, no longer entirely in Columban control, and in close touch with Northumbria. At this period the main group of cross-slabs was evolved, combining Pictish, Irish and Northumbrian elements. These monuments, while retaining their national character, came, about the middle of the eighth century, under new influences from abroad which brought in a *ronde bosse* style of carving, and traces of classical sculpture in the figure scenes. By about the middle of the ninth century the tall cross-slab seems to have been abandoned, perhaps owing to the union of the Picts and Scots and the gradual merging of Pictish culture with that of the Scots, but also partly owing to the closer contact of the Church in Scotland with the south. At about this period there were a few semi-Northumbrian free-standing crosses, and a number of small cross-slabs, some taking their style of carving from these crosses ; others of a rather debased type, from the later Irish manuscripts. Finally in the tenth century there appeared a small group of free-standing crosses, closely associated with some of the Yorkshire crosses of the same period and, except for a few minor details, purely English'.

The ascription of the great majority of the monuments north of the Forth, including all the characteristic examples, to the period of Pictish rule before 850—leaving the generations when the country was united under the vigorous rule of the dynasty of Kenneth Macalpin comparatively bare of achievement—is a paradox fully accepted by Mrs Curle. Speaking of the mergence of Pictish culture with that of the Scots when 'all that was most characteristic (of the former) gradually disappeared' (p. 105); she continues : 'owing to the Viking raids, the new Kingdom of Scotland was cut off from the centres of culture of the Scots—Iona and Ireland—and consequently the quality of its art was very poor'. Following her well-justified emphasis on the vigour and originality of the Pictish monuments the explanation lacks conviction, nor is it historically justified, for there is no reason to doubt the statements which first appear in the Chronicle of the Scots and Picts



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(1187; Skene,<sup>3</sup> 151-2), that the majority of the kings from Kenneth MacAlpin (ob. 858) to Dulach, the predecessor of Malcolm (ob. 1057) were buried in Iona.<sup>4</sup> Actually the paradox is more glaring than the author realizes for she regards the 'latest probable date (of the Early Christian series) as the eleventh century, when, with the coming of St. Margaret, Romanesque art began to reach Scotland from the south' (p. 62). This statement cannot be allowed to pass unchallenged. The great majority of the Romanesque buildings in Scotland are of an advanced character and belong to the period after 1150.<sup>5</sup> They are associated with the monastic revival which began under king David I (1124-53) though little remains that can be attributed to his reign. The small scale, the simplicity and the lack of ornament of St. Rule's church at St. Andrews distinguish it from the normal monastic Romanesque. This was erected between 1126 and 1144 and except for certain Anglo-Norman details is purely English in design and style.<sup>6</sup> The erection of such a building at this date as the main church in the city of the principal Scottish bishop is the best proof of the absence of a native Romanesque. This deduction is borne out by the remains under the nave of Dunfermline Abbey, a royal foundation of St. Margaret which formed the royal mausoleum of succeeding generations. Here if anywhere we might expect to find evidence of an early introduction of Romanesque, but the earliest church which must date from the foundation (c. 1070)<sup>7</sup> is a small rectangular cell with a western tower, a purely Celtic type. To this was added during the following century an apsidal choir which shows Romanesque influence in its planning, but even with this addition, the resulting building retains its purely native scale and character.<sup>8</sup> The same combination recurs in the round tower of Abernethy, where the use of ashlar and the double windows of the highest stage represent Romanesque modifications of a purely Celtic architecture.<sup>9</sup> It is more

<sup>3</sup> W. F. Skene, *Chronicles of the Picts*, etc., Edinburgh, 1867, cited as Skene for references to historical records.

<sup>4</sup> If, as is probable, the *Chronicon Elegiacum* of c. 1270 (Skene, 180) incorporated an earlier poem by Ailred the story was current before 1165.

<sup>5</sup> Dunfermline is conventionally dated to 1128 (*Royal Comm. Hist. Mon. Fife*, 107) the date of the foundation, but the consecration in 1150 must mark the completion of the destroyed east end, after which the existing nave was begun.

<sup>6</sup> *Archaeologia*, LXXIII, 55. The account of the foundation is preserved in the 13th century version of the legend of St. Andrew (Skene, 191).

<sup>7</sup> Theodoric, *Vita S. Margaretæ Reginae* iv.

<sup>8</sup> *Royal Comm. Hist. Mon. Fife*, no. 197, p. 106.

<sup>9</sup> Anderson, *Scotland in early Christian Times*, 42 sqq.



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advanced in style than the tower at Brechin, which dates from the years following the dedication of this city to the Church by king Kenneth (971-95)<sup>10</sup> and it must be ascribed to the 11th century, probably after 1050. Other evidence might be cited but these examples from the centres of the Scottish Church are sufficient to show that the Romanesque only established itself with the monastic revival in the second quarter of the 12th century.

These facts raise the question whether the historical evidence and the artistic parallels cited by the author are so cogent as to compel our acceptance of the paradox. The problem is complex and the obscure contemporary history of the states occupying what is now Scotland affords little assistance, but a careful analysis of some of the more important monuments does tend to conclusions incompatible with the chronology proposed by Mrs Curle.

Iona forms a convenient starting-point. Apart from the intact cross of St. Martin there are several fragments on the island and others in Argyll belong to the same school. 'They were tall crosses of the 8th century Irish type with a ring connecting the arms. . . . The decoration . . . consists chiefly of panels filled with large raised bosses ; some are placed on a background of writhing snakes, others on a background filled with smaller bosses and raised spirals. . . . From their connection with the Irish crosses it seems probable that they belong to about the same period, when the community at Iona would be in touch not only with Ireland, but with Northumbria and the East of Scotland. It is certain that they must have been erected some time before 806, when the monks fleeing from the Viking invasions took refuge at Kells ' (p. 96). The description of the Irish type as 8th century is hardly justified. It is essentially the same as that erected during the early 10th century, the age of the majority of the Irish high crosses. The earliest example of this type which is securely dated is the cross of Bealin (c. 800)<sup>11</sup> a monument characterized by an entire absence of the ornamental bosses of the Iona school. These bosses are indeed Irish in origin and reach the highest development in the 10th century. Though earlier examples such as the cross of Almenny have been attributed to the 8th century<sup>12</sup> this chronology rests on no secure foundation. But even if it be accepted it affords no basis for dating the fully

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<sup>10</sup> Skene, 10 (*Pictish Chronicle*, here a contemporary authority).

<sup>11</sup> Erected by Tuathgall, abbot of Clonmacnoise who died in 811 (*Revue archéologique*, Ser. V, XXXII, 110).

<sup>12</sup> Henry, *Sculpture irlandaise*, 165.



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developed boss style of Iona to this period rather than the 10th century. Nor are other late features wanting. The inclusion of the Virgin and Child, in the centre of St. Martin's Cross<sup>13</sup> and on the shafts of Iona (no. 10)<sup>14</sup> and Kildalton<sup>15</sup> is due to Northumbrian influence as this representation is wanting on contemporary Irish iconography (cf. p. 96). But in Northumbria the introduction of the Virgin and Child is a late feature<sup>16</sup> drawn from Carolingian sources and cannot be earlier than the 9th century. Similarly the paired beasts at the head of St. Martin's Cross are a Northumbrian feature inspired eventually by a Merovingian MS tradition and characteristic of 9th century Saxon work.<sup>17</sup> The historical argument on which the author relies in the last sentence quoted is equally fallacious. Walafrid Strabo, the contemporary author of the *Life of St. Blaithmaicc*<sup>18</sup> is a sufficient witness to the fact that the shrine with the body of St. Columba was still at Iona when (c. 825) St. Blaithmaicc was martyred by the Vikings in the rebuilt monastery. The shrine was only transferred to Ireland in 878 and does not seem to have returned.<sup>19</sup> But even this does not mark the end of the community at Iona. Though the primacy of the Columban organization represented by the coarb of Columcille remained established in Ireland<sup>20</sup> the parent house on Iona remained important, as can be seen from its choice as the burial place of the kings of Alban. A further massacre of the abbot and 15 monks in 986<sup>21</sup> shows that the community was still vigorous at the end of the 10th century, and it would be unwise to lay too much stress on the later statement of Ordericus Vitalis that it had been destroyed by wars and by long decay when refounded by St. Margaret.<sup>22</sup> The recumbent slabs of 'the Clonmacnoise type which may be as early as the 8th century' (p. 97) also prove the continuity of life at Iona. One<sup>23</sup> with a simple cross and an inscription 'pray for Mael-patraic' may be compared with the earliest Irish type and may even

<sup>13</sup> E.C.M.S. 382.

<sup>14</sup> E.C.M.S. 389.

<sup>15</sup> E.C.M.S. 392.

<sup>16</sup> The earliest example on the Paulinus cross at Dewsbury (early 9th cent.) Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses*, 43.

<sup>17</sup> cf. Brøndsted, *Early English Ornament*, 100.

<sup>18</sup> Walafrid Strabo, *Vita S. Blaithmaici* in Migne, *Patrologiae Latina*, 114, 1043.

<sup>19</sup> *Annals of Ulster* (Skene, 362). Irish tradition in the 11th century believed that St. Columba's body was then in Ireland (Prophecy of St. Berchan: Skene, 81); cf. Reeves, *Life of St. Columba*, 312 sqq. (Irish Arch. Soc. 1857).

<sup>20</sup> For the later history of Iona see Reeves, 369 sqq.

<sup>21</sup> *Annals of Ulster* (Skene, 365).

<sup>22</sup> Orderici Vitalis, *Hist. Eccl.*, lib. VIII: III, 398, edit. Le Prevost.

<sup>23</sup> Iona, no. 4; E.C.M.S. 400.



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date from the 7th century. The others<sup>24</sup> belong to more advanced Irish types and employ a later formula 'pray for the soul of . . .' The Flann commemorated on no. 2 may possibly be the abbot, Flann mac Maeldune, whose death is recorded in 891.<sup>25</sup> In any case a comparison with the dated examples from Clonmacnoise<sup>26</sup> shows that these three slabs cannot be earlier than c. 850. On this cumulative evidence the high crosses at Iona and in the neighbourhood must be ascribed to the late 9th and 10th centuries and not to the 8th as suggested by Mrs Curle.

We may next consider a number of monuments in eastern Scotland which are classed in the paper under review as a special group of 'elaborate eastern monuments'. In these 'the Picts appear to have turned for inspiration from their native art of surface decoration and the models taken from manuscripts and metal-work which had satisfied them up to now, to monumental art and sculpture in the round. . . . The elaborate raised bosses found on the crosses of Iona, and possibly coming to the east of Scotland from there, play an important part in the decoration of the monuments. . . . There are three . . . in particular which appear to derive their figure scenes from a foreign source' (p. 96); the 'altar tomb' at St. Andrews and the cross-slabs at Nigg and Hilton of Cadboll.

Before discussing in detail the chronology of these monuments it will be convenient to analyze the history of St. Andrews. The later cathedral claimed to possess corporeal relics of the Apostle, consisting of several bones, and there exist various versions of the legends which account for their presence in this remote spot. The earliest version<sup>27</sup> of c. 1165 relates how St. Andrew was crucified at Patras and buried in that city and lay there till the time of Constantine, when his remains were translated to Constantinople. In the time of the Emperor Theodosius the Apostle appeared in a vision to Angus mac Fergus, king of the Picts, promising him victory over his enemies. At the same time, Regulus, one of the guardians of the shrine, was inspired by a vision to go with the relics to Pictland. King Angus, in gratitude for the victory, gave the city to which the relics had been brought to God and St. Andrew, so that it might become the head and mother of all the churches of the Picts. Regulus continued as monk and abbot to live

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<sup>24</sup> Iona, nos. 1-3; E.C.M.S. 398.

<sup>25</sup> *Annals of Innisfallen* (Skene, 169) and *Annals of Ulster* (Skene, 362).

<sup>26</sup> Macalister, *The Memorial Slabs of Clonmacnoise*.

<sup>27</sup> Skene, 138, cf. Preface, XLVII sqq.



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at St. Andrews where he was buried. This legend is found in a Colbertine manuscript, together with other items of Scottish interest. The author of one of these historical treatises, the *Chronicle of the Scots*, was a Cistercian monk, perhaps St. Ailred of Rievaulx, and it is probable that the legend of the Apostle also proceeds from a source independent of St. Andrews, and therefore preserving a greater freedom from the embellishments which adorned the later versions preserved in the register of the priory. Much of the above story is common hagiographical form, but several points appear to rest on a genuine tradition. The emphasis that St. Regulus, the founder, is a monk and abbot does not accord with a 12th century setting when the bishops of St. Andrews were putting forward their claim to be metropolitans of the Church in Scotland. The early importance of St. Regulus in the monastery is confirmed by the place which the church dedicated in his honour held in the medieval city. We can therefore accept St. Regulus as the monastic founder of the settlement, whose shrine remained a centre of devotion, and may perhaps identify him with St. Riaghail of Mucinis, the companion of St. Columba who is commemorated in early Irish martyrologies.<sup>28</sup> Angus mac Fergus is the name of two kings of the Picts who ruled respectively 731-61 and 822-4.<sup>29</sup> The mention of relics of St. Andrew, omitting the detailed list of bones given in the later sources, may also be noted.

The earliest version of the legend as edited by the Church of St. Andrews occupied a place in the register suggesting the date 1279.<sup>30</sup> The legend is essentially the same as that outlined above, but incorporates material designed to vindicate and buttress claims by the bishopric to extensive lands and churches in various parts of Scotland. St. Regulus is made a bishop and the bones which formed the relics of the Apostle are carefully enumerated. More interesting is the evidence which points to early sources independent of those drawn upon by the 12th century author. The enemy against whom king Angus is promised victory is Athelstan, king of the Saxons, who is conquered at the mouth of the Tyne. The account of the foundation of the church of St. Andrews includes a summary of a charter by Angus which exempts the community from service with the army, from fort

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<sup>28</sup> e.g. Martyrology of Tallaght on 1 August; cf. *Procs. Royal Irish Academy*, XXIV, 34.

<sup>29</sup> *Pictish Chronicle* (Skene, 8). These and other dates are based on Irish sources, and are liable to an error of two or three years.

<sup>30</sup> Skene, 183.



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building, from the repair of bridges, and from all secular burdens. This is followed by a list of witnesses who are stated to be of the royal house ; a list of the churches said to have been built at St. Andrews ; and a long list of those who brought the relics to Scotland. The section closes with the statement ' Thana, son of Dudubruich wrote this record for King Ferat son of Bergeth in the town of Meigle '. King Ferat mac Batot high king<sup>31</sup> of the Picts (846-9) belonged to the line of Gowrie, and the importance of Meigle at this date is attested by the large collection of sculptured stones found there. The exemption clause of the charter is modelled on the later Saxon form which granted to churches freedom from all secular duties *except* the *trinoda necessitas*, army service, fort building and the repair of roads and bridges.<sup>32</sup> This was introduced at the end of the 8th century. Earlier gifts were often free from all secular service, though the charter may not contain a formal clause of exemption. Such grants were at times edited by the holder, in order to bring them more into conformity with existing phraseology, and it may be concluded that this was done in the present case. The citation of a record prepared for the kings of Gowrie in the middle of the 9th century proves that original records of this date and earlier were not available at St. Andrews, and that the cartulary had been reconstituted from external sources. The occasion of the destruction is likely to have been the Danish raids of the late 9th and early 10th century, and the rebuilding after this disaster would mark the date of the introduction and editing of these records from outside. Actually it is a reasonable conjecture that this took place under king Constantine Mac Aedh (c. 900-40) and bishop Cellach, under whose rule the assembly at Scone sealed the position of St. Andrews as seat of the bishop of Alban. Constantine, the leader of the Scotch in the wars against Athelstan, seems to have had a special devotion to St. Andrews, where he retired to spend his last years as a monk and where he, alone of his race, was buried.<sup>33</sup> That the record prepared by Thana was based on an original charter by king Angus is probable, and it was this record in which the scribes of bishop Cellach inserted the then customary clause of exemption, adapting the normal formula to the more extensive liberties of an earlier age. The original grantor was almost certainly

<sup>31</sup> The term ' high king ' is used in the Irish sense. The Picts were a confederation of several, generally seven, provinces, each with its own dynasty, and the overlordship went from one line to another.

<sup>32</sup> Hodgkin, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, II, 453 and 456.

<sup>33</sup> *Pictish Chronicle* (Skene, 9), and Prophecy of St. Berchan (ibid. 91).



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the earlier king Angus referred to above, though later tradition is uncertain on this point. The relics of the Apostle were probably derived from Hexham and it has been suggested that they were brought by bishop Acca in his last years after his expulsion from that See.<sup>34</sup> That they were corporeal relics is in the highest degree improbable. The Saxon Church was founded at a time when relics for the consecration of altars normally took the form of pieces of fabric cut from the garment of the saint (*brandea*).<sup>35</sup> There is no reason to doubt that the greater part if not all the relics brought back by St. Wilfred and his contemporaries took this form, but even if those at Hexham included bones of the Apostle it is certain that that monastery would never have spared the collection which St. Andrews later claimed.

This long digression has been necessary in order to establish the historical background against which the problem of the early Christian monuments found at St. Andrews must be considered. The most numerous class consists of small upright cross-slabs decorated with interlacing and fret pattern, and lacking the symbols which form an essential part of the ornament of the normal Scottish cross-slab. None compares closely with the earliest Northumbrian slabs, the 'pillow stones' of Hartlepool and Lindisfarne, but the type which is not Irish must be connected with the Saxon series, and it is reasonable to date the ornament by comparison. On this basis the small cross-slabs at St. Andrews would belong to the 8th and 9th centuries, to the pre-Viking monastery which was reconstituted by king Angus under Northumbrian influence. This is borne out by the occasional use of the debased vine-scroll,<sup>36</sup> a typically Northumbrian motive rarely found in the Scottish series. A more elaborate monument of the same character is the cross-shaft<sup>37</sup> with its panels of fret and interlace, which indicate a date in the 9th century. The cross-shaft, which does not occur in purely Scottish work of the earlier period, is itself an evidence of Northumbrian ideas, and the decoration must also be connected with the south rather than with the normal Scottish series.

The collection at St. Andrews includes two more elaborate monuments, a sarcophagus and a cross-shaft. The former is classed by

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<sup>34</sup> *A History of Northumberland*, III, 114, n. 1.

<sup>35</sup> Pope Gregory I, Letter in *Mon. Germ. Hist. Epistolarium*, I, 264.

<sup>36</sup> No. 30, E.C.M.S. 362, and no. 32 (*ibid.* 363). For convenience these monuments are also referred to E.C.M.S. but a fuller publication will be found in D. Hay Fleming, *St. Andrews Cathedral Museum*, 1931.

<sup>37</sup> No. 14, E.C.M.S. 359.



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Mrs Curle among the 'elaborate eastern monuments' and described as an 'altar tomb' (p. 98). She compares the figures with parallels from the eastern Mediterranean, while the bosses which form an important element in the purely ornamental panels are connected with those on the crosses of Iona. 'The Persian and Coptic parallels described belong to a period between the 5th and 7th centuries, and, allowing for a period of time to elapse before they reached Scotland, would fit in with the dating of the monument, on the evidence of the Celtic decorative elements, to some time in the 8th century. . . . It seems probable that such an important monument as the altar tomb would belong to the period of the dedication of the church (i.e. reign of king Angus, 731-61). The fact that such an elaborate type of tomb has not been found elsewhere in Europe belonging to the same period does not disprove this . . . and the stylistic evidence seems conclusive' (p. 100). The use of the term altar tomb is, in this connexion, inadmissible. The sarcophagus is a shrine, a type described several times by Bede,<sup>38</sup> and there is little doubt that it was the shrine of St. Regulus, the original founder. The practice of enshrinement became usual in the 8th century, but there is no particular reason to attribute any example to the period of foundation rather than to any other stage in the history of a church. In the present case the re-organization under king Constantine (c. 900-40) may be suggested on purely historical grounds. The author's comparison with the ornamental bosses of the Iona school is entirely just, but we have already given reasons for drawing a very different conclusion from this connexion. The eastern parallels are less happy, but even a very close correspondence in iconographical and decorative motives would not justify any rigid chronological deduction. Small portable objects, the models suggested in this case, have a long life and may already be of considerable age when copied in a distant land. Actually the comparison of the figure-scenes with Byzantine representations of the story of David misses the point of the only figure on the sarcophagus which certainly represents this king. The scene at the right end of the long panel illustrates the verse:—'He shall save me from the lion's mouth'.<sup>39</sup> The lamb being withdrawn is clearly visible in the detailed photograph published elsewhere by Mrs Curle.<sup>40</sup> There is in fact no need to seek a Byzantine

<sup>38</sup> e.g. *Hist. Eccl.* iv, 3, and *Vita S. Cuthberti*, cap. XLII. The type is discussed with reference to existing fragments in the Whitby report (*Archaeologia*, in the press).

<sup>39</sup> Psalm XXII, 21.

<sup>40</sup> ANTIQUITY, x, 428; pl. II D.



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source for this representation which also occurs in western MSS far more easily accessible. History and archaeology thus lead to the same conclusion; an attribution of the sarcophagus to the first half of the 10th century, a period when St. Andrews, newly raised to a position of pre-eminence, was enjoying the patronage of a powerful sovereign able to command the best work of the day.

Of the other 'elaborate eastern monuments' the cross-slab at Nigg is closely related to the sarcophagus of St. Andrews, but, while the latter includes in its decoration no Pictish symbol, the former is said to have shown the 'elephant' at the top of the central panel of the back. The symbol as drawn by Romilly Allen is of the most elaborate type<sup>41</sup> and if this evidence be accepted it affords an approximate date for the end of this curious series. In the same group we find the 'thick slab (at Tarbat) . . . carved on one side with a design of spirals of the Irish chip carving type . . . of the Ahenny cross, and on the other with an inscription in Hiberno-Saxon capitals' (p. 108). This has been read IN NOMINE IHESU CHRISTI CRUX CHRISTI IN COMMEMORATIONE REOTETII REQUIESCIT.<sup>42</sup> Mrs Curle comments: 'the parish of Tarbat originally included that of Fearn, where was situated the monastery of Nova Ferna. 'Reotetii' has been suggested as the partially illegible name commemorated on the monument. The death of 'Rethaide' or 'Reodaide' is recorded under the year 726 in the *Annals of Ulster*, and under the year 763 in the *Annals of Tigernach*, in both of which he is called 'Ab. Ferna'. The inscription and the spirals resembling those on the Ahenny cross show an interesting connexion with the south of Ireland, for Ahenny was near the monastery of Ferna in Ireland of which it may be assumed that Nova Ferna in Scotland was an offshoot. The south of Ireland had accepted the Roman usage even before the Synod of Whitby, and by 710 Nechtan, king of the Picts had also accepted it, whereas the monks of Iona refused to conform until 716, so it is probable that at the beginning of the 8th century Pictish Scotland would be in close communication with southern Ireland' (p. 103). It is needless to comment in detail on this passage, which the slip of 726 for 762<sup>43</sup> in the date cited from the *Annals of Ulster* robs of even its superficial plausibility. The identification of Reotetii with abbot Rethaide of Ferna may be accepted, but it affords no basis for dating. The inscription is clearly incomplete. It consists

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<sup>41</sup> E.C.M.S. 81.

<sup>42</sup> Tarbat, no. 10, E.C.M.S. 94.

<sup>43</sup> *Recte* 763. See edition of Hennessey and MacCarthy, S.A.

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of two parts : the first embodying the formula ' the cross of Christ in honour of . . . ' naming the saint who was founder or patron of the community. This is found on Celtic monuments of the 9th and succeeding centuries, the first half of the formula being often omitted from the inscription, and the word CRUX at times understood. These crosses are not necessarily associated with burials but the same formula is used in crosses which are probably funerary. Of the first class we may cite the ' cross of Patrick and Columba ' at Kells ;<sup>44</sup> of the second, the cross of St. Sampson at Llantwit Major.<sup>45</sup> The coalescence of the two ideas is well illustrated by a cross at Merthyr Mawr, where a funerary inscription is added to a rather earlier dedication to the local saints.<sup>46</sup> The loss of the words following ' requiescit ' has destroyed all hope of dating the Tarbat slab by means of the inscription. The lettering which the author compares to that on the Ardagh chalice belongs to a long lived ornamental alphabet. But there is nothing in this monument which prevents our accepting her perfectly just comparison with the group of crosses on Iona, and a consequent ascription to the 10th century.

Another inscription of the same type is found on a cross-slab at St. Vigeans, which Mrs Curle places in her main eastern group and dates to the 8th century. The simpler style of carving in flat relief indicates a date rather earlier than the monuments just considered, and this is borne out by the occurrence of several Pictish symbols of a type less elaborate than that at Nigg. On one side is a scroll which Romilly Allen<sup>47</sup> justly compared to the foliage of the Stockholm Gospels of the 9th century, while the lettering of the inscription, as Anderson<sup>48</sup> noted, resembles that of the later slabs from Clonmacnoise belonging to the same period. The formula, simpler than that at Tarbat, reads DROSTEN IPEUORET ETT FORCUS. The interpretation is similar. (The cross of Christ in honour of St.) Drosten. Drosten, the nephew of St. Columba, worked in this region, where he was honoured as the founder of Deer<sup>49</sup> and other churches. The second part probably begins (h)i(c) p(ositus) e(st), a formula derived from the late classical h(ic) s(itus) e(st). The first name UORET is clearly Ferat, a name borne

<sup>44</sup> Macalister, *Archaeology of Ireland*, 326.

<sup>45</sup> Westwood, *Lapidarium Walliae*, 9.

<sup>46</sup> *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, LXXXVII, 237.

<sup>47</sup> E.C.M.S. 237.

<sup>48</sup> *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, 195.

<sup>49</sup> Legend in the *Book of Deer* (9th century).



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by several kings of the house of Gowrie<sup>50</sup> but the conclusion is less certain, though it may be suggested that it refers to the erection of the tomb. The identity of Ferat is a matter of conjecture but the date indicated on purely archaeological grounds affords the basis for a suggestion. Ferat mac Batot, whose name implies that he belonged to the house of Gowrie, is recorded in the lists<sup>51</sup> as the last but one of the Pictish kings dispossessed by Kenneth Mac Alpin. It is known that Angus resisted for some years after 850<sup>52</sup> and it is possible that king Ferat had withdrawn there to continue the national resistance. This would indicate a date in the middle of the 9th century for the memorial.

The detailed analysis of the monuments, already discussed, has thus produced not only no confirmation of the dating proposed by Mrs Curle, but solid grounds in support of quite another chronological scheme. The material for a similar examination of the simpler and earlier monuments is less extensive, and a discussion on the same lines would require space beyond that at the disposal of the writer. But if the criticisms suggested above are to be fully appreciated, it is desirable to relate the chronology suggested for individual monuments with an outline covering the whole series. The elaborate classification proposed by Mrs Curle is bound up with her dating and it does not appear that it can stand independently. We shall therefore use the simpler threefold system of Romilly Allen<sup>53</sup> namely: class I, boulders, slabs, pillars or rock-surfaces with symbols incised; class II, erect cross-slabs or recumbent coped stones, with symbols and Celtic ornament sculptured in relief; and class III, erect crosses and cross-slabs or recumbent coped stones, with Celtic ornament sculptured in relief but without symbols.

The Pictish symbols clearly antedate the crosses as the symbols themselves occur in a more elaborate form on many of the cross-slabs. Apart from this general indication their date and origin is indicated, as Mrs Curle recognizes, by their decoration and distribution. Her conclusion that 'the symbol stones cannot be dated to earlier than the 6th century, the majority probably belong to the 7th century, while some may be as late as the 8th century' (p. 67) reflects the general period, though there is reason for thinking that her stress on their concentration in a comparatively short period is too great. An earlier origin is indicated by the La Tène character of some of the objects represented (e.g. the shield and the mirror)<sup>54</sup> and by the classical

<sup>50</sup> In the Latin lists see Skene, p. CXXIII sqq.

<sup>51</sup> e.g. *Pictish Chronicle* (Skene, 8).

<sup>52</sup> Skene, CXXXVI.

<sup>53</sup> E.C.M.S. 3.

<sup>54</sup> cf. A. W. Clapham, *ANTIQUITY*, VIII, 45.

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inspiration which must account for other features (e.g. the 'elephant' which is a reminiscence of provincial versions of the sea-horse). The boar at Dunadd, the only animal of Pictish type in Argyll, must date from after 736, when the fortress was captured by the Picts and the Scotie kings of Dalriada were displaced by the Pictish dynasty of Fortrenn.<sup>55</sup> The great concentration of these symbols in the north and in Aberdeen may also be noted. In St. Columba's day the high king of the Picts had his seat at Inverness. The later monarchs who can be identified with a particular province seem usually to belong to the dynasties of Angus and Gowrie, areas which were certainly the centre of power under the succeeding house of Kenneth Mac Alpin. The map with its contrasting distribution of symbol-stones and cross-slabs (p. 61) brings out very clearly this shift of power from the northern to the southern Picts.

Romilly Allen's class II is a more complex problem. There is no break and transition from the simple incised symbol to the cross in relief, with the symbol forming a part of the decoration of the slab is gradual. We have already shown that the cross-slab at Nigg with rounded relief, and the symbol in its most elaborate form, belongs to the first half of the 10th century. It must mark the transition to class III to which the St. Andrews sarcophagus already belongs. The date suggested is interesting, for with the succession of king Donald (889-900) the older term, king of the Picts, is replaced by the title king of Alban.<sup>56</sup> This, following the confusion of the years preceding Donald's accession (when the reign of Grig seems to represent the last strivings after a reinstatement of the native dynasties), marks the firm establishment of the house of Kenneth as undisputed rulers of the whole country, a position confirmed in the succeeding reign by the ecclesiastical arrangements promulgated at the assembly at Scone. The symbols, whatever their exact significance, are essentially Pictish, and their disappearance at a period when the last hopes of a Pictish revival had been destroyed is what might be expected. This does not mean that no stone bearing a symbol can be later than 900 but that the practice was gradually dying out at that date.

The character of the monuments of class II fully bears out their suggested date between the 8th and early 10th century. Mrs Curle's historical arguments have already been traversed. Her generalized artistic comparisons with Irish work are equally insecure as guides to

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<sup>55</sup> *Annals of Tigernach* (Skene, 75), cf. *ibid.* p. cxxxi.

<sup>56</sup> cf. Skene, cxxxix.



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chronology. References to motives taken from the Lindisfarne Gospels or other manuscripts can only afford a *terminus post quem* for a particular monument, and the Irish parallels are rendered an uncertain guide by the insecurity of Irish chronology. A detailed comparison with the more securely dated Northumbrian monuments affords a sounder basis, and even then allowance must be made for the long survival of individual motives.

The cross-slab at Hilton of Cadboll (pl. XLIII) has a hunting scene in flat relief with a slightly rounded profile (not the *ronde bosse* of the St. Andrews sarcophagus), set in a panel below elaborate Pictish symbols, the whole enclosed in a border of vine-scroll. The thin character of the scroll, the intricate interlacing, and the fabulous beasts with foliated feet are features found on the cross of St. Andrew at Auckland,<sup>57</sup> the Ormside bowl<sup>58</sup> and other Saxon monuments of the end of the 8th century. Hunting scenes appear on a series of Irish monuments which includes the cross of Bealin, datable to c. 800.<sup>59</sup> The technique of the scenes on the back of the large slab at Meigle (pl. XXXI) bears an obvious resemblance to that of Hilton of Cadboll. Both have the flattened surface with rounded profiles and both use the outline as an indication of two or more figures in relief. The front with its pairs of animals standing out against a background of filmy interlace represents the fauna of later Northumbrian crosses, while the paired beasts derived from manuscripts of the Canterbury or Mercian schools are alien to a purely Celtic tradition. The fabulous animals which fill the narrow space between the shaft belong to the same school. These features are found on crosses of the 9th century such as Thornhill<sup>60</sup> and Otley.<sup>61</sup> This dating of the great cross-slab at Meigle is confirmed by the small bosses on the cross itself. As we have shown, this feature reaches its full development in the 10th century, and the earlier stage here represented falls logically into place in the preceding hundred years.

Though simpler in conception and less well executed a recumbent slab at Meigle<sup>62</sup> (pl. XXVII) and another cross-slab<sup>63</sup> have similar characteristics, and it seems probable that some of the lost slabs belonged to

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<sup>57</sup> Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, pl. LII.

<sup>58</sup> *ibid.* pl. LX.

<sup>59</sup> F. Henry, *Sculpture irlandaise*, pl. 38.

<sup>60</sup> Kendrick, *op. cit.* XCIII.

<sup>61</sup> *ibid.* XCI.

<sup>62</sup> Meigle, no. 26, E.C.M.S. 303.

<sup>63</sup> Meigle, no. 5, E.C.M.S. 300.

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this group. In the neighbourhood there are cross-slabs at Dunfallandy,<sup>64</sup> Fowlis Wester,<sup>65</sup> St. Madoes<sup>66</sup> which may also be attributed to the same school. The existence of the school centred at Meigle in the late 8th or first half of the 9th century must be connected with the court of the kings of Gowrie, the house of Ferat, which figures so often at this date in the list of the kings of the Picts.

Viewing the material in the east of Scotland as a whole, there are no monuments in class II which show features comparable to the earliest Northumbrian sculpture or to the earliest monumental work in Scotland, south of the Forth. Using these areas as a basis for the chronology of the Pictish series we may conclude that the carving of Northumbria hardly began to influence the native work before the middle of the 8th century, and that the transition from class I to class II is to be dated in the generation after 750 rather than that before. We know that king Nectan appealed to Northumbria for guidance about 710.<sup>67</sup> The expulsion of the Columban monks a few years later<sup>68</sup> would have increased Pictish cultural dependence on the south, but the political disturbance of the following twenty years must have been inimical to progress. The long reign of king Angus (731-61) established security, and it can be no coincidence that tradition attributes to this reign the establishment of St. Andrews, with its southern connexions reflected, in its sculpture, and that these events coincide with the period at which we have shown that new influences were felt in the Pictish school of sculpture.

The foregoing remarks apply only to the east of Scotland. In the west there are a number of crosses which are clearly earlier than those of the late school of Iona. They are found as far north as the Shetlands, and the type of cross on the monuments like Papa Westray (pl. xvii) and Papil (pl. xxiv) is Celtic rather than Saxon. Irish parallels which have been attributed to the 7th century supply a *terminus post quem*, but there is good reason to suggest that the pre-Viking culture in the islands was retarded and therefore no reason to follow Mrs Curle's rejection of the Runic inscription (p. 79). This suggests that the cross-slab at Bressay, which is a more advanced type, should be dated in the second half of the 9th century.

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<sup>64</sup> E.C.M.S. 286.

<sup>65</sup> E.C.M.S. 289.

<sup>66</sup> E.C.M.S. 292.

<sup>67</sup> Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, v, 21.

<sup>68</sup> *Annals of Tigernach*, s.a. 717 (Skene, 74).



## THE EARLY CHRISTIAN MONUMENTS OF SCOTLAND

In the East, class III, which begins between 900 and 950, falls naturally into place in the later 10th, 11th and early 12th century. We have already shown that the sarcophagus at St. Andrews belongs to the beginning of the period. It represents only one side of the eclectic art of Scotland in these 200 years. Saxon ideas predominate and the other models probably reached the north through this channel. No full discussion is here possible but a few points may be noted.

Viking styles have left little mark. The hog back at Brechin<sup>69</sup> reflects the Ringerike taste in its wild confusion with violently troubled monsters tied in an interlace of bare waving tendrils. The dragons on the slabs at Benvie (pl. XLVIII) and Invergowrie (pl. XLIX) with their background on interlacing plaits, and the same bare tendril used to decorate their spines, also recall Viking ideas, but in Scotland this influence is even weaker than in England.<sup>70</sup>

Sculpture on a larger scale begins to appear. Its architectural use is well illustrated by the doorway of the round tower at Brechin, which is flanked by two saints,<sup>71</sup> that may be compared with large Irish figures like the 12th century cross of Dysert O Dea. In any case they cannot antedate the tower, which must belong to the period after the cession of the city to the Church by king Kenneth (971-95).<sup>72</sup> The tower itself belongs to an Irish type<sup>73</sup> which is not earlier than c. 950, so that both history and archaeology point to a date in the 11th century. The use of the pelleted border connects the cross-slab at Brechin (pl. XLVI) with the same school, and though the style of the figures is different the date cannot be far distant.

The low-relief figures of this period are stiff and lifeless compared with the lively scenes of the previous century. The horsemen on the cross-slab at Benvie (pl. XLVIII), with an emphasis on points of detail obtained by a neglect of the general effect, may be contrasted with the spirited riders of the great slabs at Meigle (pl. xxxi) or Hilton of Cadboll (pl. XLIII). Repetitions of stiff figures with their drapery emphasized by surface-decoration occur on monuments like the cross-slab of Invergowrie already mentioned (pl. XLIX). These are imitations of drawings in manuscripts and the attention to detail is probably inspired by the work of the Winchester school. The result is far from happy,

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<sup>69</sup> No. 2, E.C.M.S. 250.

<sup>70</sup> cf. T. D. Kendrick, *ANTIQUITY*, xv, 125.

<sup>71</sup> Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, 40.

<sup>72</sup> *Pictish Chronicle* (Skene, 10).

<sup>73</sup> Anderson, *op. cit.* 52.

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as the elaboration and classicism of these models was less easy to translate into terms of intractable stone than were the more formal linear designs of the earlier manuscripts, whether Saxon or Irish. The contrast must not be laboured, but the chronological aspect is important for our present purpose. The change from the linear and formal to more detailed naturalistic models is clearly inspired by some external influence, and this can only be the drawings of the Winchester school, which belong to the 10th century and so confirms the date already suggested for class III. In fact many of the monuments, like the slab at Invergowrie, include other features which indicate their late date.

This survey has been concerned mainly with classification and chronology. The article which inspired it raises many other questions too long for discussion. But one point seems worth mentioning; the primarily secular character of the Pictish monuments. Both the use of the cross-slab and the distribution of the two earlier classes suggest a connexion with the seats of royal or noble houses rather than with the monasteries. Only with the final phase is there a marked concentration round the ecclesiastical centres. This is in sharp contrast with the distribution of Irish monuments which is essentially monastic. The function of the cross-slab is funerary and its use over secular graves explains the choice of subject; both the symbols which can only convey some idea of the rank or office of the person commemorated, and the restricted range of iconography (p. 114). This does not extend beyond scenes connected with the *ordo commendationis animae*, one of the oldest Christian prayers used in time of trouble, and more particularly by a custom dating back to the earliest centuries, at the hour of death.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> The author desires to thank Mr A. W. Clapham, P.S.A., and Mr T. D. Kendrick, F.S.A., who kindly read this article in manuscript and assisted with advice on many points.



# Problems of Maltese Prehistory

by J. B. WARD-PERKINS

MALTA has never lacked history. That melancholy fact is indeed all too apparent today and must be held to justify the publication of the necessarily ill-digested record of a preliminary survey of its antiquities undertaken during the six months before the outbreak of war. If further excuse be needed, it must be sought in the intrinsic interest of the prehistoric remains, as well as in the important bearing which they have upon wider problems of Mediterranean archaeology. Much work still remains to be done on these remains ; but a brief summary of the results achieved in the last twenty years is not perhaps out of place at the present time.

## PRE-NEOLITHIC

The islands of Malta and Gozo are of comparatively recent formation. Discounting faults and local disturbances they consist of a uniform series of water-laid deposits of limestone, greensand and clay. After their deposit these formations were raised to a considerably greater height above sea-level than they at present occupy, after which they began once more to submerge. There is no reason to believe that, with the exception of such disturbances as those which caused the great faults of Malta and Gozo, either process was cataclysmic. In particular the subsidence, which alone falls within the limits of human history, appears to have been a gradual movement and is in fact still in progress.

Evidence of subsidence within historic times can be seen in several places. On the foreshore at Marsa Scirocco a number of silos of Roman form are now well below water-level ; and nearby, at Kalafrana, rock-cut cart-ruts, probably of Neolithic date, can be seen travelling for a considerable distance under water. Obviously no exact estimate of the speed of subsidence is possible ; but it is relevant to note that the silos at Marsa Scirocco would nowadays have had to have been cut some 15-20 feet higher above sea-level if they were to be of use.

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From a more remote period, evidence of human habitation in Malta during the palaeolithic period is restricted to the discovery in the celebrated cave of Ghar Dalam of two human teeth, sometimes identified as belonging to Neanderthal man.<sup>1</sup> Ghar Dalam is a narrow underground fissure running into the side of a dry river valley near Marsa Scirocco. It is now largely silted up with water-laid deposits which consist successively of clean clay, a thick bone-breccia composed of the partially abraded bones of countless hippopotami and of a few elephants, a red earthy deposit containing the bones chiefly of deer, and at the surface disturbed matter containing the remains of neolithic and of later occupation. The two teeth were found near the upper limits of the red, earthy deposit. The recent excavations of Dr G. Baldachino have shown that the fissure was originally wholly subterranean and ran beneath the river-bed, which subsequently cut through and into it, depositing in the process the debris of the animal life which flourished on its banks.

The implications of this find are obvious enough. It implies climatic conditions suitable for the support of large, sub-tropical animals. Marsa Scirocco and Marsa San Tomasso were no doubt fresh-water lakes where such beasts as hippopotami and swans abounded. It implies also contact by land with one or other continent. That contact was not necessarily still available at the time when the Ghar Dalam deposits were laid down; in fact the specialization observable in the fauna, many of which belong to species unknown elsewhere, suggests strongly that Malta was already long since an island. On the other hand these deposits are not, as has sometimes been claimed, evidence for the existence of a landbridge between Africa and Europe, still less for the existence of such a bridge within human times.<sup>2</sup> It is moreover very far from certain that the two teeth have been rightly identified as those of Neanderthal man; and in any case they stand alone. Neither in Ghar Dalam itself nor anywhere else in the island have any Palaeolithic implements ever been found; and in Sicily there are no traces of human activity before a fairly advanced stage of the Upper Palaeolithic.

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<sup>1</sup> See M. A. Murray, *Excavations in Malta* (Quaritch), I, pp. 6-13; II, pp. 1-18, for an account of Miss G. Caton-Thompson's excavations in 1922. Dr Baldachino has since traced the prolongation of the fissure on the opposite bank of the Wied Dalam, proving conclusively that its formation preceded the cutting of the Wied. Professor D. A. E. Garrod assures me that the identification of the teeth as belonging to *Homo neanderthalensis* is more than doubtful.

<sup>2</sup> R. Vaufrey, 'Les Eléphants nains des Iles méditerranéennes et la question des isthmes pleistocènes', *Archives de l'Institut de Paléontologie humaine*, Mem. 6, 1929, 220.



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The evidence for the existence of Palaeolithic man in Malta is at best very doubtful ; and certain it is that he found no abiding home. There can be no question of any continuity with the succeeding cultures. It was a virgin island that the first Neolithic settlers took for themselves.

### NEOLITHIC

In comparison with the world of Ghar Dalam the geography and climate of present-day Malta have changed little since Neolithic times. Familiar cliffs have vanished into the sea ; headlands and islets have disappeared even since the first maps were made. The vegetation was perhaps somewhat richer, to judge from the snail-shells found in Neolithic deposits. The deer of Ghar Dalam were still roaming the island, and the first settlers either found or brought with them the pigs and cattle which figure so largely on their monuments and in the débris of their settlements. But in the main it was the Malta of today, stripped of all the works of man, which greeted them as they beached their ships and stepped on to the rocky shore.

The study of the Neolithic civilization which they created has been handicapped in the past by its very richness. A recent Italian writer has even been moved to claim it as the source of Mediterranean civilization ;<sup>3</sup> and while such an extravagant claim will not bear critical examination, it does at least indicate an appreciation of the original quality of much of the Maltese Neolithic material. Earlier writers have, perhaps not unnaturally, been reluctant to regard it as anything but derivative ; and although the extreme expression of this point of view—which dismissed it as the tardy flowering of a culture long outworn elsewhere—was put out of court by the discovery in 1916 of an Early Bronze Age cemetery overlying the collapsed débris of the Neolithic temple at Tarxien, archaeologists have not ceased to scour the Mediterranean from the Levant to Spain in search of the culture from which Malta drew its inspiration. The measure alike of their success and of their discretion is the frequency with which their choice has fallen upon the neighbouring shores of northern Africa, about whose contemporary culture practically nothing is known.

Before attempting to assess the position of Malta in relation to the outer world, it is however necessary to determine more precisely the object of our research. Very little is known of the chronological interrelation of the many phases of Neolithic life represented by the

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<sup>3</sup> L. Ugolini, *Malta : origini della civiltà mediterranea*, 1930.

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surviving remains. The paucity of soil on the island and the depredations of early excavators have combined to ensure that, with the single exception of Hal Tarxien, no site has yielded the direct evidence of a stratigraphical succession; nor is there any great likelihood that any such site awaits discovery. The earlier writers were inevitably led to treat as a single cultural unit the products of what we can now, in the light of the Hal Tarxien excavations, recognize as two distinct epochs, separated from each other by no less an event than the first introduction of the use of metal. The same excavations revealed three, perhaps four, distinct sub-divisions of the Neolithic period. The Neolithic culture of Malta did not exist whole and entire at a single moment of time. It was the product of a development that may have taken centuries. In seeking for its origins it is essential therefore that we should try to distinguish between the original form in which it was introduced and the developments and additions by which it may have been later modified. The distinction may prove to be illusory, but at least it deserves consideration.

The most striking remains of the Maltese Neolithic culture are, without question, the megalithic temples, of which at least a dozen survive in part in Malta and Gozo. They have been frequently described, and for an account of their main features, it is only necessary to refer to an article by the late Sir Themistocles Zammit (*ANTIQUITY*, 1930, pp. 55-79). They have certain features in common with other megaliths in the Mediterranean area, notably with the *nuraghi* of Sardinia;<sup>4</sup> but these resemblances are of a very general character, e.g. the presence of a curved forecourt, from which a central passage leads to one or more internal chambers; and a criterion, which would for example embrace equally well some of the Irish megaliths, has hardly the precision necessary to demonstrate any very close relationship. Like the false vault, these are developments inherent in the idea of megalithic building wherever it is found. There is moreover reason to believe that in Malta they were a relatively late development and that they formed no part of the earliest megalithic tradition in the islands.

Some years ago a little stone model of a megalithic building (*PLATE*, p. 24) was found during the excavation of the megalithic temple of Ta Hajrat at Mgarr (Zammit, *op. cit.* 74-5, fig. 7). It depicts a simple elliptical structure with a doorway in the centre of one long side. The outer wall, in a manner characteristic of many Maltese

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<sup>4</sup> See D. Mackenzie, 'Dolmens and Nuraghi of Sardinia', *Papers of the British School at Rome* (1913), VI, 127-70.



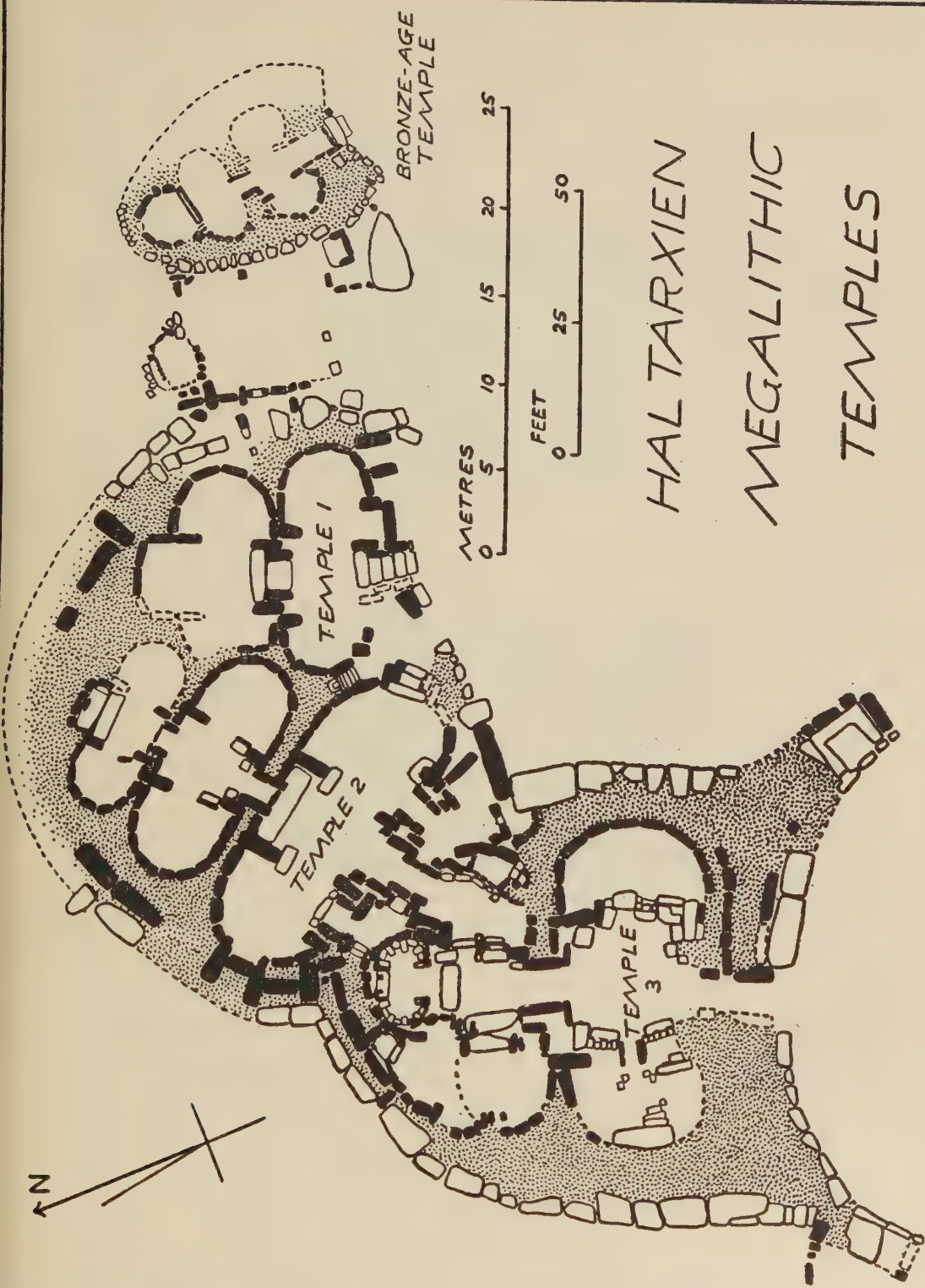


FIG. 1

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megaliths, is built of roughly rectangular slabs set alternately along and across the axis of the wall (see Zammit, op. cit. pl. XI, the great temple of Gigantea in Gozo) and the whole is roofed with flat slabs. This proof of the use of flat roofs is most valuable. It confirms the evidence of the Hal Saflieni Hypogeum, which depicts a slightly more elaborate type, a partial false vault crowned by a flat ceiling. Even more important however is the light which the model throws on the early development of Maltese megalithic architecture ; for there can be little doubt but that it represents the plain, monocellular form of temple from which the more elaborate, surviving structures were developed.

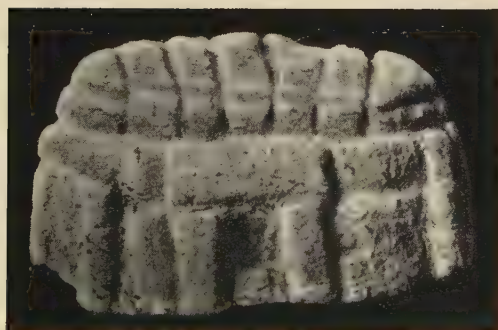
The typology of megaliths is a notoriously slippery subject for study unless it can be related to a framework of rigidly dated specimens. Within the Maltese series of temples it is hardly possible to say more than that there can be discerned a tendency to develop from the simple to the more complex. This is not to say that simpler types did not survive ; and the Bronze Age was marked by a definite retrogression. Nevertheless the more elaborate structures do seem to belong, as might indeed be expected, to an advanced stage of the Neolithic culture, a tendency which presupposes their development from humbler, less distinctive beginnings.

At Hal Tarxien there were three successive Neolithic temples (FIG. 1). A group of smaller buildings to the east probably represents a fourth temple, dating from the Bronze Age. Of the Neolithic temples two consist of two pairs of apsidal chapels, the third of three pairs. This last was described by the excavator, and has since been generally accepted, as the second of the series. A re-examination of the monument suggests room for doubt. This temple is awkwardly crammed into the space between the other two, both of which appear to have been partially mutilated in the process. The chronological sequence would seem to be particularly clear where the outer retaining wall of the central temple abuts upon that of the southernmost temple, and again where the entrance to the former appears to have been carved out of the northeastern chapel of the latter.<sup>5</sup> With the doubtful exception of the Eastern Cordin group (Zammit, op. cit. fig. 2), which is probably of domestic origin, the central building at Hal Tarxien is the only temple in Malta with three pairs of apsidal chapels, and its establishment as the latest member of the Neolithic series on the site would be a fact of

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<sup>5</sup> T. Ashby however in *Antiquaries Journal* (1924), IV, 93-100, on the basis of supplementary excavations, accepts Zammit's relative chronology, although the evidence quoted is not conclusive in this respect.





STONE MODEL OF A MONOCELLULAR TEMPLE,  
FOUND AT MGARR, MALTA (see p. 22)  
(V'alletta Museum)





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some importance. In any case it is later than, and superseded, its neighbour to the east, a fully developed but simple building, which lacked the sculpture and elaborate internal fittings of both its successors.

The double temples of Gigantea in Gozo, and of Mnaedra on the main island, both consisted originally of a single shrine, to which a second was added subsequently. At neither, however, is there visible any radical development of plan. At Gigantea (Zammit, *op. cit.* fig. 9) the earlier, southern temple was the larger and finer; at Mnaedra (*Papers of the British School at Rome*, 1931, VI, pl. xx) it was the later, the more northerly of the two, which was architecturally the bolder, though it lacks the elaborate internal detail of its companion. These two monuments evidently represent a stage of achievement, even of disintegration, in the history of the Maltese megalithic tradition. They tell us nothing of its origins. Nor does Hagiar Kim (*Archaeologia*, 1842, XXIX, 227-40), where the alterations consist simply of the elaboration of the details of the existing plan.

There is, however, one important monument, the temple at Borg en Nadur, near Birzebuggia, which illustrates a more significant development. This temple is of the normal Maltese type with two pairs of apsidal chapels and a smaller altar-chapel at the head. But a glance at the plan (FIG. 2, after M. A. Murray, *Excavations in Malta*, pl. ix) reveals unmistakably that the outer pair of chapels are an addition to the original structure. Not only are they aligned on a different axis, a difference which has been adjusted by moving the altar-niche to one side, but they cut right across the line of the outer retaining wall of the inner pair.<sup>6</sup> The temple consisted originally of a single pair of apsidal chapels within an elliptical surround, and its entrance in the centre of one of the longer sides—in every essential the building illustrated by the model from Mgarr.

From this simple origin two lines of development can be traced. In the majority of Maltese temples the small chapel at the head remained, as it had begun, a mere altar-recess, and the plan was developed rather by the multiplication and elaboration of the side-chapels. A few however, e.g. Ix-Xaghra ta Cordin (Zammit, *op. cit.* fig. 7), are marked by the enlargement of the terminal chapel, while the side-chapels remain two in number, producing a simple clover-leaf plan. Gigantea (Zammit, *op. cit.* fig. 9), which we have seen to be relatively late, combines

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<sup>6</sup> This feature is even more strikingly marked on Miss Murray's other published plan (*op. cit.* pl. VIII; followed by Zammit, fig. 8). The present condition of the ruins unfortunately does not permit verification.

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both streams of development ; and so does the fourth temple at Hal Tarxien which Ugolini,<sup>7</sup> almost certainly rightly, has assigned to the Bronze Age (fig. 1).

The monumental sculpture which adorned many of these temples has no real counterpart in the western Mediterranean. The nearest contemporary equivalent, as Mr Hawkes has recently remarked,<sup>8</sup> must be sought in the bas-relief sculpture of the Near East, of which processions of animals in low relief are a distinctive feature. But it would be idle to postulate, on the basis of a superficial resemblance, any necessary connexion, either direct or remote, between the two regions. The *globigerina* limestone, of which Malta is largely composed, affords abundant supplies of easily-worked stone, and to this day the Maltese are a nation of born masons. The existence of a monumental sculpture in Malta need indicate no more than that the vigorous Neolithic inhabitants made use of the opportunities under their nose, and turned to artistic account the craftsmanship they had acquired in quarrying and dressing the monoliths of which their temples were built. The motifs which they employed were those current on their pottery and, as we know from two rooms of the Hal Saflieni hypogeum (Ugolini, *Malta*, fig. 73), in their painting ; and whenever it is possible to assign a relative date within the Neolithic series to the buildings in which the sculptures are found, they seem to belong to an advanced phase. At Hal Tarxien sculpture was only found in the two later Neolithic temples, whereas the earliest, itself of relatively developed plan, was apparently quite devoid of any such ornament. It seems reasonable therefore to regard this distinctive and unusual sculpture, not as an exotic intruder, but as the natural development of the humbler, everyday products of native Neolithic artistry.

The objects characteristic of Neolithic sites in Malta are various, but of almost all it may be said that, while they are clearly related fundamentally to other cultures, notably in the eastern Mediterranean, they bear the marks of a considerable specialized development. Of the pottery, for example, it is now evident that the range of types formerly accepted as the normal and homogeneous accompaniment of any Maltese megalithic site,<sup>9</sup> covers in fact a wide diversity of date and, to a lesser degree, of local distribution. Not only has the work of Sir Themistocles Zammit at Hal Tarxien enabled us to distinguish between

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<sup>7</sup> *Malta : origini della civiltà mediterranea*, p. 150, fig. 22.

<sup>8</sup> C. F. C. Hawkes, *The Prehistoric Foundations of Europe* (1940), p. 153.

<sup>9</sup> N. Tagliaferro, *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, III, p. 1 ff.



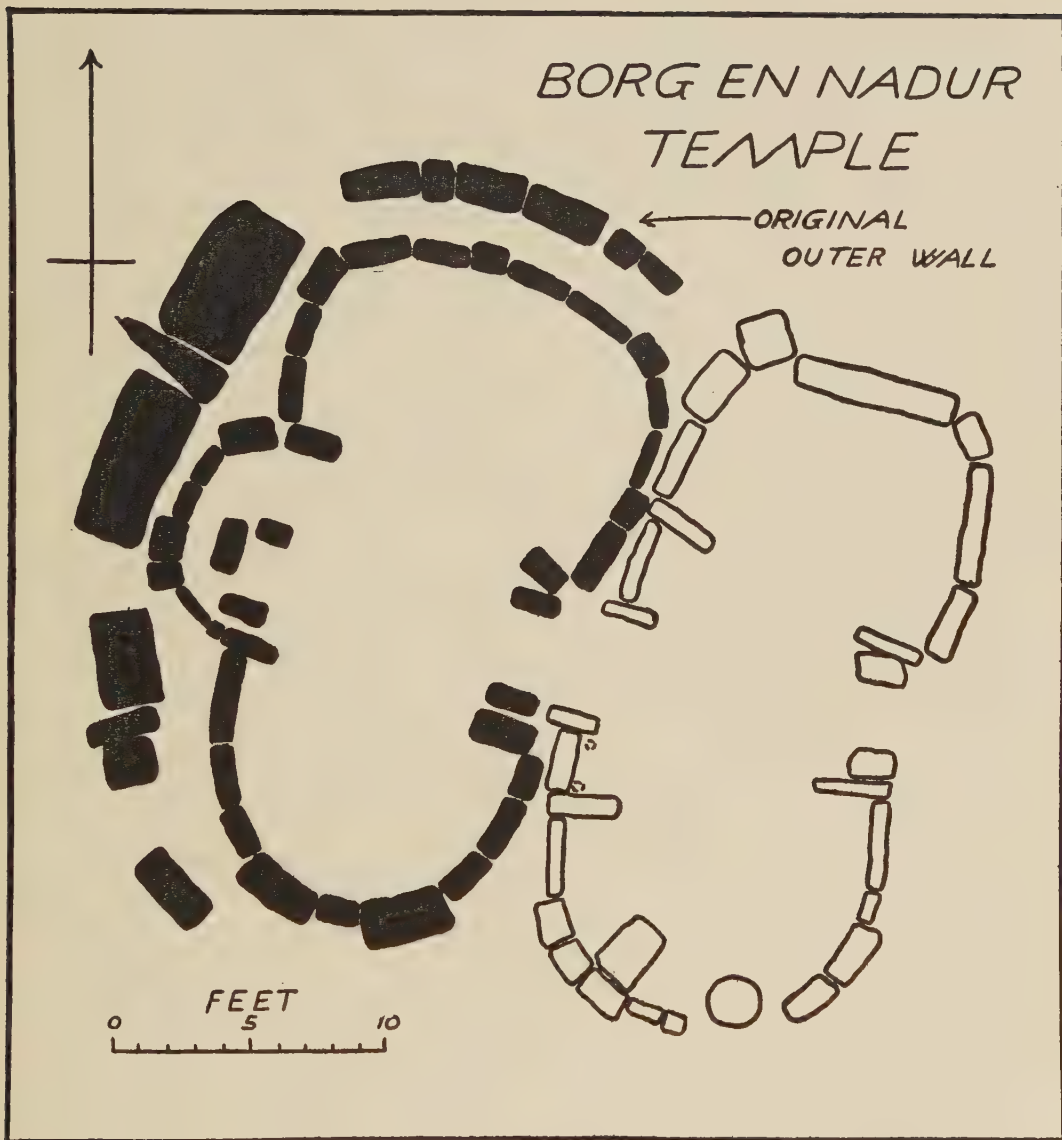


FIG. 2

## ANTIQUITY

Neolithic and Bronze Age wares, but in the light of the further work which he conducted on a number of lesser sites, in collaboration with Dr Ashby and Professor Peet, it is possible to discern certain sub-divisions within these broader periods. A detailed re-examination of the material may well clarify this development still further, and we shall then be better able to discuss the difficult question of origins. The present position is well summarized by Mr Hawkes, who remarks that

‘the pottery, with its superb paste and polish, suggests a Near-Eastern tradition, and though some of the forms, especially big conical-necked jars, recall Early Cycladic models, the “bucchero” finish and finely incised ornament remind one of the Anatolian-derived style of pre-Minoan Crete, while the “tunnel” handle, suggesting derivation from a type devised for a stone vessel, has relatives in Crete and the Cyclades and no less at Anatolian Troy and Thermi, and splayed and especially pedestalled bowl-forms, recall the Thessalian Neolithic (derived ultimately from the Tell Halaf culture of North Syria and Assyria). It looks as if an Asiatic migration, related to the Thessalian . . . had passed on westward to colonize Malta, at a date which its independence of parallel Aegean developments argues to be not later than 3000 B.C.’<sup>10</sup>

A Near-Eastern, as distinct from an Aegean, derivation is supported, as Mr Hawkes further remarks, by several other features of the Maltese Neolithic culture, such as the stone phalli and the corpulent stone and terra-cotta statuettes of the Mother Goddess—and, it may be added, perhaps also by linguistic considerations. The Semitic character of the Maltese language may be due to Phoenician settlement; but to judge from the tenacity with which it has resisted modifications by every succeeding tongue, it is arguable that the Punic settlers found already established a dialect fundamentally akin to their own.

It would seem therefore that, even if the similarity between the sculpture of Malta and of the Near East is superficial, it is nevertheless ultimately to the Near East that we shall some day have to look for the origins of the Maltese Neolithic culture, perhaps directly, more probably through some such medium as northern Africa. These fundamental resemblances must not however blind us to the strongly individual character of the finished product, the result, it seems, of generations of specialized development. The insularity of the Maltese Neolithic civilization does not of course imply a complete isolation. There were undoubtedly contacts with the outer world. A certain number of implements of flint and of obsidian have been found on various sites, e.g. at Hal Tarxien and in the hypogeum of Hal Saflieni

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<sup>10</sup> C. F. C. Hawkes, *The Prehistoric Foundations of Europe* (1940), pp. 153-4.



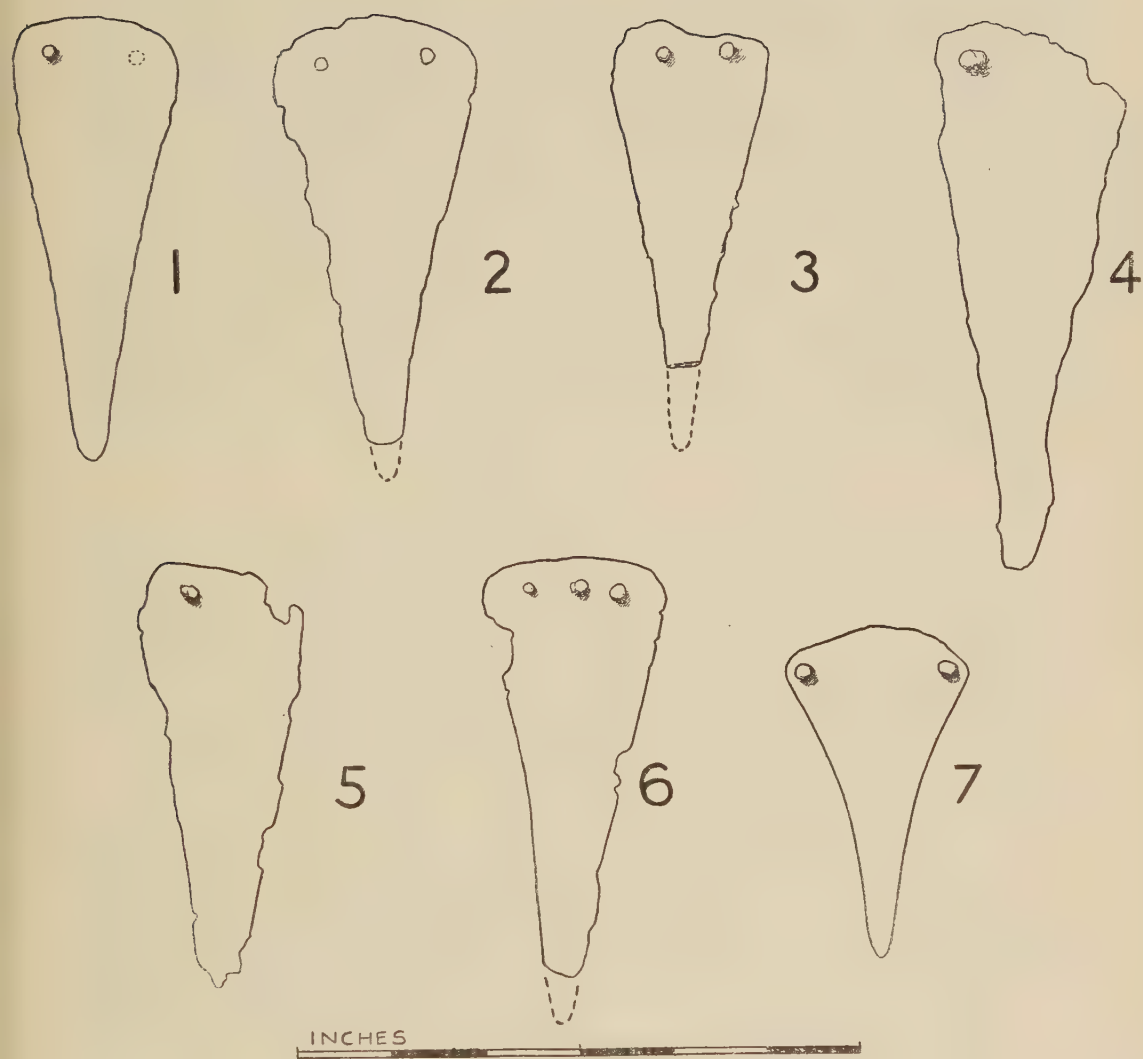


FIG. 3. DAGGERS, HAL TARXIEN, MALTA

## ANTIQUITY

(*Archaeologia*, 1915-16, LXVII, pl. xv; Ugolini, *Malta*, figs. 63-4) and miniature pendant-axes of jadeite are not uncommon (*Archaeologia* 1918-20, LXX, fig. 17). Both obsidian and jadeite are foreign to the islands. The latter is found in Sicily, and the nearest source of obsidian is in the Lipari Islands. Nodules of flint of an inferior character occur in the local *globigerina* limestone, and this is without doubt the source of the majority of the flint implements found on Neolithic sites, which are distinguished by the poor quality alike of their material and of their workmanship. A few however, such as the knives from Hal Tarxien, illustrated in *Archaeologia*, LXX, pl. xiv, must be regarded as imports. These finds prove beyond question some contact with neighbouring lands; but by comparison with the amount of other material discovered, they serve also to underline the very limited character of that contact.

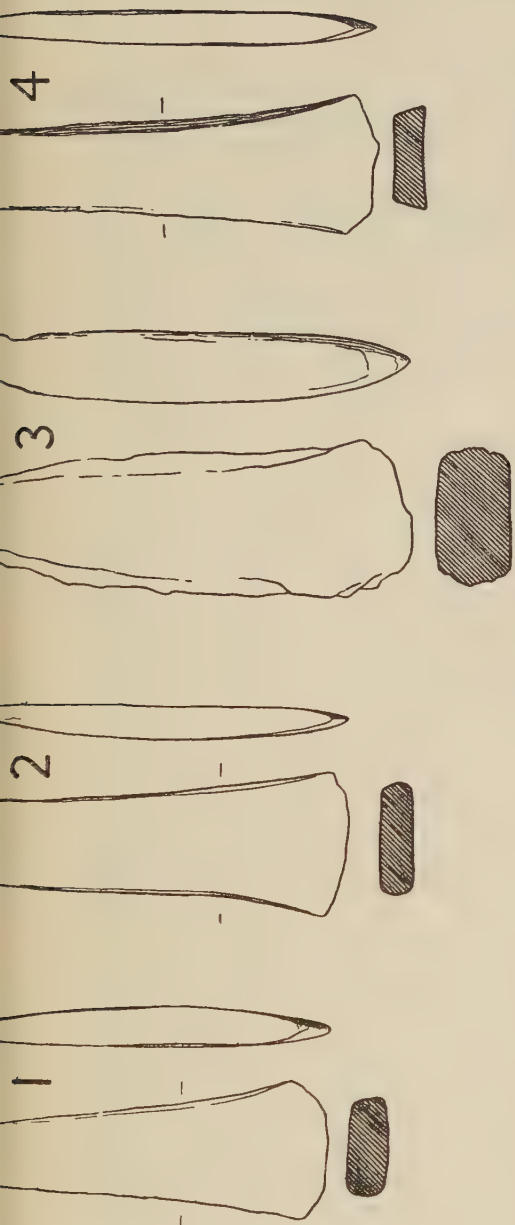
### BRONZE AGE

It was therefore an event all the more striking when this seclusion was interrupted, early in the Mediterranean Bronze Age, by the arrival and settlement of a body of immigrants from the eastern Mediterranean. Stratified over the ruins of the temples at Hal Tarxien were the remains of an extensive cremation-cemetery, characterized by the presence of implements of bronze (or of copper; they have yet to be analyzed) and of a pottery quite different from the preceding Neolithic wares.

On the form of the daggers found in this cemetery Mrs A. R. Maxwell-Hyslop has remarked:—

‘The Hal Tarxien daggers (FIG. 3) seem to belong as a group to the triangular tangless class of blade, which is common in the second half of the third millennium B.C. in the Aegean area. The danger of attempting to date primitive types of copper blade by analogy cannot be over emphasized. None of the daggers from Hal Tarxien however has even a rudimentary tang, although the blades show a certain development from the simple form towards a longer and thinner blade. In Crete, according to the evidence so far accumulated, the tanged blade does not appear generally before the Middle Minoan period. At Hal Tarxien moreover the blades show no signs of a midrib, nor is there any sign of the typologically more advanced form of a long thin blade with midrib, which in Crete was developed from the simple triangular form. We cannot however be certain that the absence of certain developed forms may not be due simply to retardation. We can hardly say more than that from a purely typological standpoint the Hal Tarxien class of dagger belongs to the third millennium B.C. Whether early or late within this period it is impossible to say. The flat axes from Hal Tarxien (FIG. 4) do not seem to present any typological features which would enable us to date them with any precision’.





INCHES

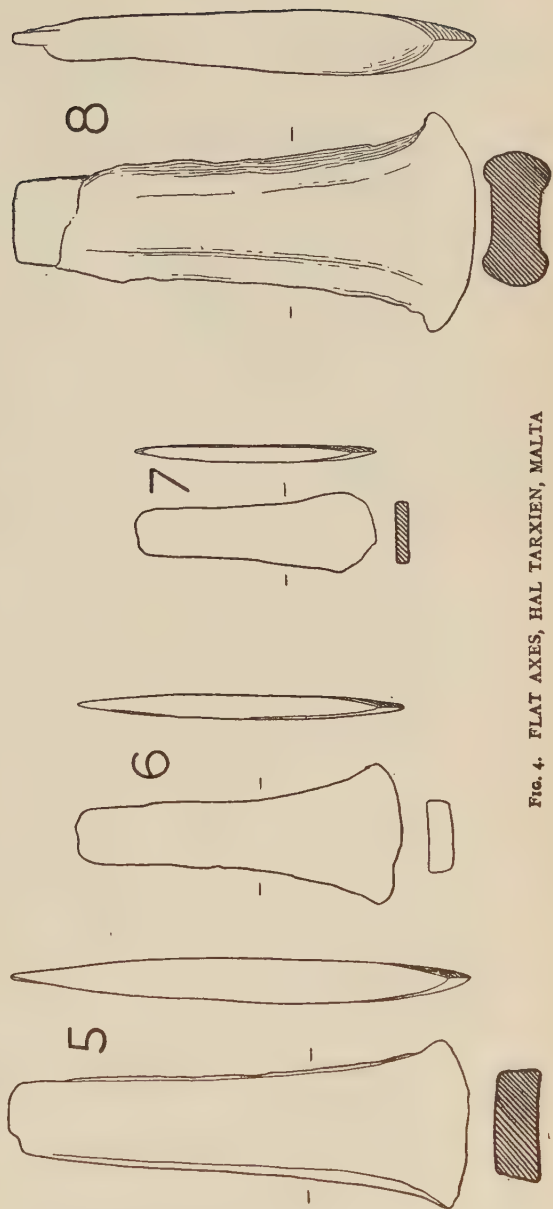


FIG. 4. FLAT AXES, HAL TARXIEŊ, MALTA

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To this account one may add that the absence of any trace of Maltese Neolithic influence in this cemetery shows that the settlers who are buried there had not long been in the island. If there is any retardation of type it must be sought in the lands from which they came, and not in Malta itself.

The pottery (see *Archaeologia*, 1915-16, LXVII, pls. XIX-XXI for a selection of typical vessels) awaits a definitive study. It is at once evident that it contains several Aegean types and that it falls within the same cultural orbit as the metal implements. The whole complex can hardly be later in date than the end of the third millennium B.C. ; and at the time of its deposit the latest of the Neolithic temples on the site had been abandoned and was already buried deep in accumulated débris. Here is a point of cardinal importance for the chronology of Maltese prehistory.

Unfortunately the Hal Tarxien cemetery remains at present unique among Maltese antiquities. Not only is the form of burial without parallel in the island, but some of the most distinctive of the pottery-types, e.g. the unusual duck-shaped vessels, have not been recorded elsewhere. Nor have any metal implements of prehistoric Bronze Age type ever been found on any other site, an absence that is in marked contrast to frequent metal finds of Punic and Roman date, and must be taken therefore to indicate, from whatever cause, a real scarcity of metal during this period. On the other hand certain features of the Tarxien cemetery, such as the use of heavy, geometric, white inlay, found wide acceptance in the island ; indeed it became the distinguishing characteristic of one widely-distributed late Bronze Age pottery-group, known from the type site near the west coast of the island as 'Bahria ware'.<sup>11</sup>

The precise relationship between the various Bronze Age groups represented in Malta cannot yet be determined. Perhaps the most plausible conjecture is that the cemetery at Hal Tarxien represents but one of several closely related groups of immigrants ; but that whereas we have had the fortune to be able to isolate this group at an early, pure stage, the others are known to us only after a period of development and of contamination by the native Neolithic culture. That however is surmise. What we can say, with some confidence, is that there was considerable continuity with the preceding period, and that the immigrants seem rapidly to have fused with, and perhaps been

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<sup>11</sup> *Papers of the British School at Rome*, v, 149 ff.



## PROBLEMS OF MALTESE PREHISTORY

absorbed by, the old Neolithic stock. The suggestion that the older race was dead and its culture a matter only for archaeology before ever the first Bronze Age settler set foot in Malta, is based solely on the evidence of Hal Tarxien. Yet even there the ruins of the ancient temples must still have retained their sanctity to have been chosen as a burial place by the immigrants; and by the side of the cemetery and of the ruins of the temples they built a new shrine, smaller and cruder, but still on the same structural lines as its predecessors.

Elsewhere both temples and domestic buildings remained in occupation from Neolithic into Bronze Age times. At Mgarr a Bronze Age temple was added to, or replaced, the existing Neolithic building.<sup>12</sup> The temples of Hagiar Kim and of Mnaedra and the great megalithic complex of Borg en Nadur have all yielded a copious series of finds of both periods without a trace of any dislocation of the structural development. There may even be some substance in the traditional identification of the latter with the historical temple of Melkarth.<sup>13</sup> The ruins at Torri ta Santa Verna seem to be those of a Bronze Age dwelling-place built over the remains of a Neolithic megalithic structure.<sup>14</sup> Another Neolithic domestic site which was occupied continuously into the Bronze Age was Ix-Xaghra ta Cordin,<sup>15</sup> where it was specifically noted by the excavators that the characteristic white-encrusted ware (related to, but distinct from, the Bahria white-filled, 'cut-out' ware) occurred only in the later, secondary buildings.

The prehistoric tombs of the islands also bespeak a certain continuity, although the evidence is somewhat conflicting, and we cannot yet speak with any finality of the exact sequence of development. The multiple cave-burial of Bur-Mghez<sup>16</sup> probably represents the earliest Neolithic rite in the island, but before the close of the Neolithic period it had been at least partially replaced by artificial rock-cut tombs, such

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<sup>12</sup> Interim report in *Annual Reports of the Museum Department, Malta*.

<sup>13</sup> Ptolemy, IV, 3, 37, describes the temple and its situation. Quintinus, auditor to Grand Master Villiers de l'Isle Adam, writing in 1532, identifies the classical temple with the prehistoric and medieval structures at Borg-en-Nadur. See A. A. Caruana, *Report on the Phoenician and Roman Antiquities in the Group of Islands of Malta* (Malta, 1882), pp. 17, 19; also M. A. Murray, *Excavations in Malta*, I, p. 21 and Appendix I.

<sup>14</sup> *Papers of the British School at Rome*, VI, pp. 105 ff.

<sup>15</sup> *ibid.* 34 ff.

<sup>16</sup> N. Tagliaferro, *Man* (1911), XI, 147 ff.; *Papers of the British School at Rome*, VI, 12. Within the natural cave were the remains of at least 35 bodies, each buried beneath a flat slab supported on smaller stones.

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as that found in 1926 in the Bingemma hills.<sup>17</sup> Thereafter the sequence is confused, largely as a result of the practice, widely indulged in during later periods, of clearing and re-using earlier tombs. Until contrary evidence is forthcoming, it would however seem reasonable to regard the Neolithic rock-cut tombs as the forerunners of the very similar tombs that were to become the almost invariable fashion in Punic times.

Of the intervening Bronze Age rites we know all too little. The open cremation-cemetery at Hal Tarxien has no parallel in Malta. Another disused shrine, which was employed as a burial-ground, is the Hal Saflieni Hypogeum. In this case the rite was that of inhumation, or rather that of reburial after inhumation; and the choice of site recalls the Neolithic taste for burial in caves, whether natural or artificial. Yet a third form of Bronze Age burial was revealed in 1939 by the discovery at Mtarfa of a silo-shaped grave, some fourteen feet deep, of late Bronze Age date. It had been rifled in Punic times, but it still contained, in addition to a lamp left by the robbers, a quantity of broken Bronze Age pottery, including several vessels of Bahria ware. A nearby tomb, originally of the same form but since mutilated, had been used as an ossuary in Punic times. It contained pottery similar to that found in the earlier Punic tombs, also a bronze buckle, two tiny soft-stone amulets of Egyptian type, and a quantity of beads of green and of yellow paste with inset whorls of blue and white. Identical beads and amulets are found on Sicilian sites, notably at Megara Hyblaea, which was founded in 728 B.C. and sacked in 482 B.C.

As yet the Bronze Age in Malta can claim no tomb of the Neolithic-Punic type; but it would be rash, on the slender body of evidence available, to argue thence that the apparent continuity of form is an illusion. Both types of tomb, the shaft-and-chamber and the silo, were widely used in later times; and it seems likely that, while the Bronze Age was marked by the introduction of several fresh ideas, there was throughout the prehistoric period a considerable continuity of practice.

## CONCLUSION

Most of the cardinal questions of Maltese prehistory remain unanswered. Who were the first settlers? Who were the intruders

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<sup>17</sup> *Antiquaries Journal* (1928), VIII, pp. 481-3. At least two other examples are recorded—at Bukana, near Attard, and Xaghra, Gozo. In each case the remains were heavily stained with red pigment.



## PROBLEMS OF MALTESE PREHISTORY

who were buried in the ruins of Hal Tarxien? When and why did they come? When did the first Punic settlement take place? There are so many questions which we cannot yet answer. But at least we are better able to define the problems. We can see that throughout its earlier history Malta was remarkably isolated, and that many of the most striking characteristics of its prehistoric civilization may be interpreted in terms of the effect of that isolation on a vigorous and fertile native culture. By its central position Malta was liable to irruption from almost any quarter of the Mediterranean; but in the intervals between such incursions its remoteness gave every opportunity for an individual, local development. The first settlers brought with them the germs of the culture which at its height produced the great temples of Gigantea and Hal Tarxien, of Mnaedra and of Hagiar Kim, the hypogeum of Hal Saflieni, the stone carvings which adorned these temples, and the decorated pottery and the terra-cotta figurines with which they were served. But it is idle to look elsewhere for comparable monuments, or for a kindred art. It is the task of future study to isolate the counterpart, in terms of material civilization, of the simple, monocellular temple represented by the model from Mgarr. Then only shall we know what we are looking for elsewhere. We have got to define the elements which made up the Bronze Age civilization of the islands. We have to establish in detail the internal sequence of the Punic remains. Only when this is done shall we be able to give Malta its place in the wider view of Mediterranean prehistory. These are pressing tasks for post-war archaeology, and there could surely be no more fitting recognition of Malta's present achievement than the proper study of her past.

A full bibliography up to 1930 appears in L. Ugolini's *Malta: origini della civiltà mediterranea*. Subsequent work is summarized in the *Annual Reports of the Museum, Malta*, published by the Government of Malta. The best short account in English of the Maltese Neolithic civilization is that given by the late Sir Themistocles Zammit in *ANTIQUITY* (1930), IV, 55-79.

# Southampton

by O. G. S. CRAWFORD

THE situation of Southampton has many geographical resemblances to that of London. Both are at the head of estuaries to which the main drainage systems of their hinterland converge. Both towns were separated from that hinterland by large tracts of forest and scrub, and both are built on hard ground near channels of deep water. Southampton has, throughout most of its history, been a Channel port, looking across the Channel to France and Spain whence came the traders and raiders of the Middle Ages, just as London looked to the Low Countries.

The earliest human remains found at Southampton are stone axes, contemporary with or older than the gravels in which they occur; but neither at this remote date, nor at that later but still relatively remote period when the peat was formed on the site of the docks did the sea come near the site, and for the present essay we shall begin with the Late Bronze Age. There is evidence that, somewhere about the middle of the first millennium B.C., there were people living in the district, for hoards of bronze implements have been found at Bitterne, Pear Tree Green, on the common near the Cowherds, and at Brambridge. Similar hoards have been found round the shores of the Isle of Wight, one at Ventnor consisting exclusively of implements of a French type that must have been imported. The number of such hoards found on the coasts of France and Southern England is very much greater than that of those found inland, and some kind of sea-trade is to be inferred. Possibly the raw material, in the form of 'cakes', was carried by sea from Cornwall to these wooded shores where it could be conveniently cast into implements, the trees supplying fuel and the clay being used for moulds. From here the finished products could be exported to the agricultural people living on the chalk downs of the hinterland, and to the inhabitants of the opposite coast, where bronze implements of English types are found quite commonly. Neither of these regions has any natural deposits of copper or tin.

In the Middle Ages Southampton was again an important entrepôt of the tin trade, having its Tin Cellar near the west gate.

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That the district was fairly thickly inhabited about this time is suggested by the defended sites ('camps') around, of which there are no less than seven within a radius of eight miles from Southampton.<sup>1</sup>

The Iron Age has left no remains here, and the Roman period is almost equally blank. Clausentum (Bitterne Manor) is mentioned only once, in the 7th of the Antonine Itineraries, and excavation has as yet added little more to our knowledge. There was a Roman building of some sort near the crematorium; it was found by the late Mr E. A. Rawlence, and I saw some foundations exposed there when I visited the site with him in May 1925<sup>2-3</sup>. A hoard of Roman coins was found at Weston and the usual sporadic finds of isolated coins elsewhere in the district. There was a settlement near Nursling station where the Roman road from Winchester crossed the Test. Of the two other Roman roads, that from Clausentum to Chichester is still visible on Freemantle Common, and the one from Winchester to Clausentum may be represented by the present road from Swaythling to Southampton through Portswood; this is called the 'lower way' to Winchester on a 16th century map, and it roughly follows the alignment of the Roman road near Boyatt wood, where it is last certainly visible. Some support for this course may be given by the discovery on Portswood Hill in 1852 of 'three Roman tombs . . . containing four small vases and other specimens of ceramic ware',<sup>4</sup> for such burials were often made beside Roman roads.

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<sup>1</sup> Exbury, Hamble Common, Tachbury, Toothill, Chilworth Ring, Castle Hill, the Walls (Nursling); bronze implements have been found in Toothill Camp and a gold torc at Moorcourt Farm; these are now preserved at Broadlands.

<sup>2-3</sup> About 1878 Roman remains were found 'out towards Swaythling', consisting of pottery and urns, a pot with 200 Roman coins, a 'huge trench with at least 200 horses' heads', and some carbonized grain. Some of these objects found their way to the museums at Salisbury and Dorchester; others were acquired by an old gentleman who came out from Southampton in a cab. *Hampshire Independent*, 22 February 1890; reprinted in the *Hampshire Antiquary and Naturalist*, 1891, I, 48. Information about the exact site would be welcome.

<sup>4</sup> *A General History of Hampshire*, by B. B. Woodward and T. C. Wilkes, II, 146. Davies (Hist. p. 2) gives the site as 'the high ground in front of Portswood Lawn', which was evidently that now traversed by Lawn road. Portswood Park was broken up and built over between 1842 and 1862, and Mr Kell states definitely that the graves were found 'when a new road was cut through Portswood Lawn' (*Hampshire Independent*, 4 April 1863); he was himself residing at number 5 Lawn road in 1859. Probably the site is that marked 'Roman remains found' on the 25-inch O.S. map, on the south side of Lawn road, 1000 feet ENE. of the point where Lawn road enters Portswood road; but there is now no means of verifying this.



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Many stirring events must have taken place here throughout the period of the Roman occupation and immediately afterwards, but history is silent and local archaeology has hardly as yet found its voice. We know that Clausentum was occupied from the start, and that already in the middle of the first century A.D. it was the port from which pigs of Mendip lead were exported to the continent. Its defences date from the end of the occupation, when Saxon pirates were already becoming a menace. Documentary history, of a kind, begins with the arrival of the first Teutonic invaders at the turn of the 5th and 6th centuries. Some of them were led by Cerdic and Cynric and their relatives ('nefan') Stuf and Wihtgar. The former are said to have landed at Cerdices Ora in 495. I have already dealt with this invasion elsewhere,<sup>5</sup> and there is no need to recapitulate the arguments. Since then, however, a fresh scrap of evidence, if such it be, has turned up. Ten years ago I was inclined to identify Cerdices Ora with Totton, where the Cloven Way ended; and I said that Calshot, though topographically possible, could not be derived from Cerdices Ora (p. 443). That statement, of course, still holds good. Recently I discovered a linear earthwork, of a type usually assigned to the period of the invasions, running across the line of the Roman road from Stone on the Solent towards Eling. It is in Dibden Purlieu, and its western end rests on a small wet ravine indicated by the 100-foot contour-line. (It begins at a point immediately below the 'u' of 'Purlieu' on the one-inch Ordnance Survey Map of the New Forest, 5th edition, 1938). It runs in a direction slightly north of east across the heath towards the Forest Boundary which it reaches at an obtuse angle in that boundary. Traces of it can be observed along the southern hedge-line of the garden of an uninhabited house. I did not attempt to follow it through the enclosures beyond, as this is a winter job, the vegetation in summer being too luxuriant. The exact course of the Roman road is doubtful north of the point where it reaches a right-angle turn in the Forest Boundary, just sw of Buttsash. I used to think that it kept to its alignment; but I am now inclined to think that its course is represented by the Forest Boundary as far as Applemore Hill, the traditional course. In either case the linear earthwork must have crossed it at right angles, and its eastern end probably ended at the head of a small stream where the Hythe road turns due north. The ditch of the earthwork is on the north side, and it is admirably placed to defend the whole plateau,

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<sup>5</sup> Cerdic and the Cloven Way, *ANTIQUITY*, 1931, v, 442-458.

## SOUTHAMPTON

bounded by the Beaulieu river on the west and Southampton Water on the east, from attacks coming from the north.

Now it seems reasonable to suppose that such an earthwork might have been thrown up to defend invaders landing somewhere between the mouth of the Beaulieu river and Calshot against the only possible attack from the land ; for it is only along this line of country that a land attack was likely. The invaders could hold the peninsula (Hythe-Fawley-Calshot-Lepe-Beaulieu) without any fear of attack except from this direction. These considerations now seem to me to outweigh the arguments for a landing at Totton, a spot which was surrounded on all sides by hostile inhabitants. On the other hand, there is no reason to abandon the Cloven Way, for it is the obvious course that the invaders would follow in their next advance. Indeed, some such series of advances as that now suggested seems to fit the account in the Chronicle rather better. In 495 Cerdic and Cynric made a successful landing at Cerdices Ora ; it was not until 13 years later (508) that Natan Leah (Netley Marsh) came into the picture. The defeat of king Natan Leod seems to represent the beginning of the next advance which culminated in the battle of Cerdices Ford (Charford) in 519. Meanwhile other invaders had landed in 514 at Cerdices Ora and may have occupied the plateau now vacated by their predecessors.

Interwoven with these events was a successful attack upon the Isle of Wight, which eventually fell to the lot of the later invaders, Stuf and Wihtgar. Now Stone was the point from which in Roman times<sup>6</sup> there was a crossing to the Isle of Wight ; the Solent here is only a mile and threequarters wide, and quite easy to cross in a small boat—I have crossed it myself three times in a Rob Roy canoe. Not only would it be the natural taking-off place for an expedition to the island, but until this was undertaken there remained a constant danger that the tables would be turned, and the invaders lose their footing on the mainland through an attack by the islanders on their base. If they lost this they could receive no further reinforcements from their continental (or Kentish ?) homeland.

But we must return to Southampton. The earliest mention of it in history has been overlooked by almost all historians of the town and country. It occurs in the autobiography of Willibald (700 ?–786) and

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<sup>6</sup> And later also, if we may (with Ekwall) identify Stone with Bede's Ad Lapidem, to which the two sons of Arvald, king of the Isle of Wight, fled for refuge about the year 686. There was a ferry from here to the Isle of Wight as late as 1859 (*History, Gazetteer, and Directory of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, by William White, 1859, 369–70).

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relates to about 721, the year in which he and his companions left the monastery at (Bishop's) Waltham. 'They came', he says 'to the appointed place which was called in the old tongue (*prisco vocabulo*) Hamble Mouth (Hamelea Mutha), near that mart called Hamwih'.<sup>7</sup> (*juxta illud mercimonium quod dicitur Hamwih*). This form of the name contains the two elements *hamm*, 'a meadow, esp. a flat low-lying meadow on a stream' (Ekwall, *Dictionary*) and *wic*, 'an early loan-word from Latin *vicus*, meaning "dwelling, dwelling-place; village, hamlet, town; street in a town; farm, esp. a dairy-farm"' (ib. id). It occurs again, as Homwic, in a 12th century copy of an earlier document. Another form, Hamtun, occurs as early as 755 (in the first mention of the shire which was called after it Hamtunseir), and it was this form which ultimately survived, the prefix being added in the 11th century to distinguish both town and county from Northampton and its shire. Had the other form prevailed the name of our southern port might now have been something like Hamwich.

But the ancient walled town of Southampton is not a 'flat low-lying meadow'; on the contrary, it occupies a ridge of relatively high ground between 20 and 40 feet above the mean level of the sea (which once washed the foot of the town walls on west and south), and some 10 to 30 feet above the low ground beyond on the east and northeast. The difficulty, however, is removed by archaeology, which has shown that the early, pre-Conquest town was situated between a quarter and half a mile to the northeast.<sup>8</sup> The evidence consists of 'bone-pits'

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<sup>7</sup> Hamuuih is the form of MS. F. in Munich Library, written about the end of the 8th or beginning of the 9th century. See *Hodoeporicon S: Willibaldi*, ed. T. Tobler, Leipzig, 1874, pp. 14, 308, 321.

<sup>8</sup> Approximately the middle of the older settlement seems to have been the road-junction known as Six Dials, where St. Mary's road crosses the railway; here, on the point of the angle between St. Mary's and St. Andrew's roads, is the Edinburgh Hotel (earlier the Star and Garter, and then, in 1856-7 the Deanery Inn) where many of the finds mentioned later were found.

In Hearnshaw and Clarke's *History of Southampton* (Oxford, 1910, pp. 36, 37) the author of part I of that book records, on the authority of Leland and Camden, a 'very old tradition' that 'the old and original Hampton clustered round the mother church of St. Mary'. That may have been a fact, but it is unsupported by archaeological evidence, nor is it what Leland says. Paraphrased, he states that the old town stood a quarter of a mile or more northeast of the new one and extended to the haven-side, and that the place where it stood then bore good corn and grass and was called St. Mary field because St. Mary's church stood hard by it. No archaeological remains of the old town itself have been found south or east of St. Mary's church, the nearest (excluding

*Note continued on page 41*



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and their contained relics, brought to light by the digging, for brick-earth and foundations, that preceded the erection of houses between 1825-66. The two chief sites were situated close together and were probably part of a single area of bone-pits. The first discoveries were made south of the New Road, between St. Mary's street and the gas-works.<sup>9</sup> The exact site was a field part of which was later occupied by the New Gaol, and Kell describes it as 'about 150 yards' from the Edinburgh Hotel, from which it was separated by houses and part of the railway (the present line between the tunnel and Northam Junction). A great number of pits were found about 6 or 7 feet in depth, from 4 to 10 feet in diameter, and about 12 feet apart. The tops of the pits were covered with about 2 feet of débris; that is, the old surface line, when the pits were dug, was 2 feet below the existing surface of the ground. Large quantities of bones were found in them and sold at the rate of 5 gallons for a shilling. It was estimated that about 50 tons of bones had been found by the end of 1849; they included bones of deer, ox, sheep, hog; fowl and fish bones; oyster and mussel shells; and the tines only of deer horns. In addition six or eight streets were exposed, some intersecting, covered with gravel 4 to 6 inches thick. Besides the pits, and deeper than them, were found wells, also filled with bones.

All these discoveries were made by workmen; the site was never seen by anyone with the least claims to be called an archaeologist, and the facts were, for the most part, extracted several years later by Mr Kell who cross-examined those concerned (JBAA, 1864, xx, 69).

The other site was at any rate seen by Mr Kell and watched by him during the progress of building there (1856-66). The first finds

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*Note continued from page 40*

the Grove street cemetery) being on the site of the New Gaol, a quarter of a mile due north of it. On a map of 1842, now in the Tudor House museum, the words 'glebe lands' or 'glebe' are written over the area northeast of Six Dials, the present railway triangle (now allotments) and the land east of the present Northam station. This glebe belonged to St. Mary's and it was no doubt the 'St. Mary field' of Leland. On the same map the words 'T. Bradby, Esq.' are written over the 'new gaol' field, thus confirming the site of the earliest finds made in digging clay.

<sup>9</sup> Keele, writing in 1855 (*Coll. Ant.* iv, 59), says clay-digging for bricks began here in 1839, and it is clear from his account that it continued at least to 1849. Kell, who questioned those closely concerned with the digging, states that it took place between 1825 and 1833 (JBAA, 1864, xx, 69). Probably it went on throughout the whole of the period preceding the erection of houses on the brickfield. The New Gaol (now replaced by a police station) was built there in 1854-5; eight coins of Offa and Egbert were found in digging foundations for it (JBAA, 1857, xiii, 208-9; Davies, *History of Southampton*, p. 102).

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were made on the site of the Edinburgh Hotel (see note 8) in March 1856. Nearly a ton of bones was found and disposed of by the workmen, but some of horse, hog and ox, and a deer's horn, were identified. They were dug in brick-earth resting on gravel and 'were rectangular, from six to eight feet long, from four to six feet broad, and from six to seven feet deep', but were not always cleaned out to the bottom. The area cleared was about 15 yards by 10. Two more pits were found 'in the construction of the north wall of the yard, distant ninety yards from the house'. One of these was excavated by Mr Kell. 'The surface of the ground was about two feet (above the top of the pits?), the depth of the clay (brick-earth) through which the pit was dug was seven feet six inches, terminating in the gravel'. Bones found included, in addition to those mentioned above, sheep, 'various fowls', also 'oyster shells, deer horns and boars' tusks in considerable numbers. I also found fragments of bricks or tiles, which had been perforated by tubular holes about an inch in diameter, and some pieces of Anglo-Saxon pottery' (JBAA, 1857, XIII, 208).

More pits were found when digging foundations for the houses on the west side of St. Mary's road, 'somewhat above the Edinburgh Hotel', as the Deanery Inn was then called. 'From the soil dug out from the surface portion of these pits' Mr Kell obtained from a labourer a coin of Constantine I; and later a coin of Constantine II, and a penny of Offa were found 'on the same spot' (JBAA, 1860, XVI, 333).

The last discovery of pits recorded on the west side of St. Mary's road was made in February 1863, 'on the laying of the foundation of two houses between the Edinburgh Hotel and the houses (already built) in St. Mary's road, formerly described as being built over these pits.<sup>10</sup> The tips of 50 or 60 deer horns were found in addition to the usual assortment of bones, and some coins (of which more later); and Mr Kell records the elevation of the road itself above the adjacent land on either side, a feature which I have observed myself. Mr Kell recorded that 'the entire portion of the west side of St. Mary's road is now built on', and forecast similar discoveries 'on the opposite side of the road which is now a ploughed field' (JBAA, 1861, XX, 58). His

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<sup>10</sup> These houses must have been south of Compton Walk, for the block of houses immediately north of that road had been built long before. It is called Charlotte Place after Princess Charlotte, who died in 1817; it is not marked on the map of 1802, and was therefore presumably built between those two dates. The distance from the Edinburgh Hotel to Compton Walk is 1,100 feet.

## SOUTHAMPTON

description is perfectly borne out by Cox and Sharland's map of 1862 which calls the field a 'market garden', as Kell himself does in his next and final report.

This report records the fulfilment of his prediction during the making of 'some new streets on land on the east side of St. Mary's road, Southampton, belonging to Queen's College, Oxford, long occupied as a market garden'. The district now bears the name of Nichols town, and lies between Argyle road on the north, Derby road on the east, and New road on the south.<sup>11</sup> The usual quantities of bones were found, but no coins. Amongst the objects found there is said to have been 'a slight intermixture of Romano-British relics'. It is possible that there may have been some, but, so far as one can judge from the published list of objects found there seems to have been nothing decisively Romano-British; it must be remembered that at that time the study of typology was in its infancy, and such things as knives, brooches, and potsherds of Saxon type might easily be assigned to an earlier period. What is described as a 'clay whirl (*sic*) used in sinking nets' was almost certainly a bun-shaped Saxon loom-weight. There were also found a 'counter of Henry III and Edward I's time', and 'various fragments of glass of the sixteenth century' (JBAA, 1866, XXII, 455).

The last bone-pit was found in August 1941, in the middle of Trinity road at the point where it comes into St. Mary's road from the west and right in line of the houses on the west side of St. Mary's road. The pit was clear of the camber of St. Mary's road, which was noted both by the workmen and myself. A trench was dug here revealing a pit about 10 feet deep and filled with made soil; it was carried to a depth below the bottom of the pit. The number of animal bones found was not as great as one would have anticipated, to judge from the foregoing accounts; there were also some large oyster shells and a nice comb made of the skull-bone of some large animal such as an ox. This was found in the pit itself, and purchased by me on the spot from the man who found it. No coins or other relics were found although looked for. The pit did not appear to have been disturbed.

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<sup>11</sup> The site is described as 'about a quarter of a mile east of the Roman station, Clausentum, and of the river Itchen, which separates it from Clausentum' (JBAA, XXII, 1866, 455). 'East' is clearly a slip for 'west', but the site is actually threequarters of a mile southwest of Clausentum.



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The only other site<sup>12</sup> where bone-pits are definitely recorded is the Hoglands. When this was converted into a park about 1859 Mr Kell observed that 'large quantities of animal bones were gathered up from the ground by the inhabitants'. He further records, on the authority of 'Mr John Smith of the Ordnance Survey Office', that bone-pits were found 'in the part of the Hogland'(?). Various excavations, some of them violent, have taken place round there recently. I have examined the earth thrown up and the sides of the excavations but have seen no indication of pits or other relics. The sides of a large rectangular excavation in brick-earth near Kingsland Square and immediately southwest of it revealed no signs of pits or other disturbance. But Mr Smith's statement cannot therefore be set aside (JBAA, 1864, xx, 69).

Besides the bone-pits there was one other place where ancient remains that may have been Saxon were discovered—Grove street. This street (1000 feet long) runs north and south between Bevois street on the north and Chapel road on the south, entering Chapel road between the eastern entrance of St. Mary's churchyard on the east and the level crossing on the west. Grove street was apparently unfinished in 1842-3, when there was still some open ground on the northern portion of the east side; the west side was then completely built-up, the almshouses opposite a school (now a store) having been completed in 1831.<sup>13</sup> The exact date of the discoveries here is not stated; they were first recorded by Mr George Atherley in April 1849 (JBAA, 1850, v, 162), and Mr J. R. Keele in 1855 said they were found 'some years ago, in laying out a part of the same estate for building purposes . . . on the space now occupied by a row of houses called Grove street'. There is also some vagueness about the discoveries themselves. It seems that graves containing skeletons and some glass vessels were found. The summary of Mr Atherley's communication speaks of 'several skeletons'; Mr Keele called it a 'cemetery' and speaks of 'a great number of human bones' found there.

In one of the graves a 'curious vase of green glass' was found lying over the face of a skull, and removed without injury'. It was illustrated on plate xvi of *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. iv, but this plate is missing from the only copy I have been able to consult. The Editor,

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<sup>12</sup> A sceatta is said to have been found 'at Hogsmount, about a mile from this site [near the New Gaol], and bordering Clausentum', but there is no mention of bone-pits there. I had been unable to locate Hogsmount.

<sup>13</sup> J. S. Davies, *History of Southampton*, 1883, 293-4.

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Roach Smith, a very competent archaeologist, attributed it, and therefore also the cemetery, to the Saxon period, comparing the glass vessel to one found in a grave at Otterham Creek, Kent, associated with a round Saxon brooch, an inscribed 'Samian' vessel, and amethyst beads (*Coll. Ant.*, II, 162). It seems, however, that more glass vessels were found at Grove street, for Mr Kell found in 1864 that Captain Bradby (not Bradley, as printed) 'had had in his possession, from the Saxon cemetery, two or three glass vessels which were similar to those figured 15 and 16 in Akerman's *Archaeological Index*, as belonging to the Saxon period; and also a large torque of metal silvered over' (JBAA, 1864, XX, 69). There must be some mistake here; the only figures 15 and 16 which at all correspond are those on plate xiv, Anglo-Saxon period, and these are not glass vessels but urns. I think Mr Kell misread the figures and thought they applied to the objects *above* them. These are two glass vessels, figs. 9 and 10; figure 9 is regarded by Mr T. D. Kendrick, Keeper of British and Medieval Antiquities in the British Museum, as 'certainly Saxon', of the 6th or 7th centuries, and figure 10 he regards as 'almost certainly Saxon'. With regard to the green glass vessel and other objects on plate xvi (*Coll. Ant.* iv) Mr Kendrick states (in a letter to me, dated 1.X.1941) that he does not like to be definite about them, but thinks it probable that they are Late Saxon, say 9th century, which was also the opinion of Roach Smith, a competent judge. The extreme range for the cemetery seems therefore to be 600 to 900, and we shall probably be not far away if we assign it to the latter part of this period. That would agree well with the evidence from the area of occupation, and with the fact that no brooches, weapons or pots were found in the graves, as would certainly have happened if they had contained pagan burials. No such relics have been found, so far as I am aware, anywhere in the neighbourhood, and it may be concluded that the site of old Southampton was not occupied before the introduction of Christianity in the region, which may not have been long before about 680.<sup>14</sup>

The date of the bone-pits is fixed by the coins, assuming, as I think we may, that these were found actually in the pits themselves and not in the overlying two feet of soil which accumulated afterwards.

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<sup>14</sup> At about this time there was a monastery at Redbridge (Bede), but the Isle of Wight was still pagan, and Wilfrid was converting the people of western Sussex. It is probable that the monastery 'at Redbridge' was in fact that at Nursling, two miles to the north, where Boniface was ordained priest about 30 years later. There is no church at Redbridge, and no other evidence of a monastery there.

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They range from sceattas of presumably 7th century date to coins of the 10th century. The latest, according to the best account (JBAA, 1864, xx, 71-3), were of Edward the Elder (901-925), if we rule out a stray Scottish penny of William the Lion (1165-1214).<sup>15</sup> The coins were acquired by various collectors and no complete list was ever compiled; it is therefore impossible to give exact figures, but it would appear that those of the 9th century were the most numerous.

Conclusions drawn from the evidence here cited must naturally be subject to reservations. One thing, however, appears to be reasonably certain; the bulk of the finds belonged to the period before the Norman Conquest. From this it may be inferred that the site was not occupied to any great extent after that event. This conclusion is confirmed by the absence of any mention of the commoner medieval relics, such as glazed pottery, which would surely have been plentiful otherwise. We know that the Castle was in existence in 1153,<sup>16</sup> and it seems reasonably certain that the Domesday entries (1086) refer to what was then the new site. If so, this new site must have been first occupied about 900 and 1086, and it only remains to discover the exact date within this period when the change-over occurred. We may rule out at once the twenty years after the Conquest, when the general state of affairs in the country was too disturbed for such an enterprise. The most likely date in the preceding century and a half is that when the towns (burhs) of Wareham, Wallingford and Cricklade (and some others) were fortified, as a measure of protection against the Danes. We may be sure that the old site was already much devastated by Danish attacks, to which its open position exposed it. What more natural than the selection, at this time, of a new and more defensible site? The defences made consisted of a bank and ditch, such as may still be seen round the three towns just mentioned; they remained the town's only defences until the walls were made in the early and middle 14th century.

Whatever the date it is quite certain that the transfer took place long before the great French raid of 1338, when part of the town was looted and burnt. Leland records a local tradition to this effect; but

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<sup>15</sup> Coins of Athelstan (925-40) and Æthelred (presumably 'the Unready', 978-1006) are also recorded, though the latter was queried in the list in *Coll. Ant.*, iv, 61 (JBAA, xiii, 209; xx, 70). A coin of Otho (A.D. 69) is also mentioned in the last cited reference as the earliest found on the site. A coin of Eadgar (957-75) is mentioned in the list in *Coll. Ant.*, iv.

<sup>16</sup> Davies, *History of Southampton*, 59.



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folk-memory, which preserved the story of a great event, transferred its cause, as so often, to the last remembered enemy, the French, who were in fact still a very real menace in Leland's own time.

So far as topography is concerned there was very little change between the middle of the 16th century and the middle of the 18th<sup>17</sup>; and it is a safe inference that the earlier map gives a fairly accurate picture of conditions during the preceding centuries. From the Norman period to the Industrial Revolution there were, of course, many minor changes; and the redistribution of land resulting from the dissolution of the monasteries left its mark upon the map. But the framework persisted. We see a compact sea-port whose fields, gardens and marsh began immediately outside its walls; beyond was the common, the Priory of St. Denys with its wood, the moated house of Banisters in its park, and the Bishop of Winchester's manor house of Bitterne. To the north and northwest was open heath—Shirley Heath and Warren, Nursling and Chilworth Commons. There were no large suburbs,<sup>18</sup> but a few small hamlets at Portwood, Hill and Millbrook lived a life of their own, almost independent of the fluctuating fortunes of the city; there were some road-side houses outside the north and east gates, near the ferry at Chapel and St. Mary's church, and a large farm at Northam, whose successor, built in 1611, is still standing.

The medieval traveller leaving Southampton for Winchester by the 'lower waye', would pass through the Bargate and be clear of houses when he reached what is now the Tramway Junction, south of the War Memorial. He would follow a wide muddy track to a road-junction marked by Padwell Cross. (This stood near the site of the drinking-trough opposite the Ordnance Survey Office). Here he would fork right and go down along a deep hollow lane between high banks, now Rockstone Lane. At the foot of the hill was an open space (Blackberry Mount, from whence the view on PLATE I was taken) where the road turned north and skirted the shore of the Itchen estuary for a few hundred yards, before climbing the hill. On his left is a spur of high ground on the top of which was a large artificial mound. This was Padwell Hill (Speed's map of about 1770) or Bevis Mount. It was already an antiquity even then and has now vanished completely. Its age and purpose are unknown. Speed records that in digging the

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<sup>17</sup> Maps of about 1560, and of 1771; nos. 2 and 7 in the Atlas published by the Southampton Record Society in 1907.

<sup>18</sup> In 1596 the population of the borough was about 4200, of whom less than 600 lived outside the walls (Hearnshaw, *Hist. of Southampton*, 1911, p. 79).

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foundations of a summer house on the site of 'a Barrow', a skeleton was found. 'The top of this hill was us'd to be plough'd, and I have heard that Roman coins have been found there. The side of the Hill next the Shoar is very steep, and has a wet ditch at the bottom of it'. It was probably a 12th century Castle Mound<sup>19</sup> of the adulterine kind, of which there are many that are not mentioned in any historical document. The position is admirably adapted to command an important highway, where it passes between a steep hill and the estuary; and the 'wet ditch' may well have been an additional obstruction thrown across the road to facilitate the task of robbing travellers.

After Bevois Mount the traveller would pass through wooded ground on either side till he came to Swaythling; for the few scattered houses on the east side of the road that are marked on the map of about 1560 had probably not long been built. With such insignificant exceptions as these there were no suburbs, and certainly no rich residential areas, for the merchants all lived where they worked—in the town itself.

The dawn of the new era began in the middle of the 18th century. Up till then such big houses as were built outside the town were almost exclusively farms or mills. The creation of new farms went on without interruption during the 19th century, one of the last to be built being Highfield Farm (1880), still standing. But in 1750 Frederick, Prince of Wales, father of George III, visited Southampton, and thereby set the seal of fashion upon it. About twenty years later General Carnac (1716–1800) backed a scheme to build a twelve-sided block of residential houses called the Polygon. It was designed by Leroux, 'of Great Russell Street' (Guide, 1795, 135), but only three houses were ever built. From then onwards new seats sprang up rapidly. If we examine the region about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles northwest and north of the old town, and include a strip on the east across the Itchen, we find only six houses marked by the symbol for gentlemen's seats on Isaac Taylor's map of Hampshire (1759).<sup>20</sup> From the first Ordnance map (1810), combined with Faden's (1796) and research in directories and other sources, we

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<sup>19</sup> *History of Southampton* (Southampton Record Society, 1909), p. 147. On his map Speed indicates the mound by the same symbol as that used for Southampton Castle.

<sup>20</sup> The number is really five, as the Deanery, St. Mary's, is shown by this symbol. But other houses are Bevois Mount, Grove Place, N. Stoneham, Lord Hawke's house at Swaythling and South Stoneham House.

PLATE I



THE OLD FARM HOUSE (1611) AND THE ITCHEN ESTUARY ABOUT 1840



PLATE II



THE ROYAL VICTORIA SPA AND ASSEMBLY ROOMS (BUILT 1833), FROM AN ENGRAVING BY  
PHILIP BRANNON (ABOUT 1850)

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can discover no less than thirty-eight seats in the same region. Some of these, such as Banisters<sup>21</sup> and Bitterne Manor, were old feudal mansions reverting to their former estate after an interval as farms. Some were ordinary farmhouses converted. But the majority (probably about two-thirds of the total) were entirely new foundations. They were in a variety of styles, mostly based on classical models, though Ridgeway Castle, and probably several others were in the neo-Gothic style. At least sixteen of them have been demolished and many others altered almost out of recognition, and it is unfortunately very difficult to find any early illustrations. The occupants were members of the aristocracy, retired army and navy officers and a few successful business men.

As the tide of Victorian prosperity mounted, its beneficent influence extended even to members of the 'lower orders', who built houses for themselves after their own style. The link between new and old is the villa. At first a miniature 'seat', it later became almost a term of abuse. The earliest villas came next after 'lodges' in the hierarchy of houses. They were detached from the abodes of the vulgar; but like their makers, they tended to pair off, and soon, doubtless for good business reasons, they lost their aloofness altogether, and were planted in rows, at the same time decreasing considerably in size. Finally they coalesced with a single row differing in name only from houses 'of a convenient size for those who subsist by labour',<sup>22</sup> for they formed roads, terraces, and avenues though never streets! The point is of interest because the 'social' ancestry of the modern suburban villa goes back ultimately to the 'seat', not to the town house; the earliest suburban seats were modelled on country houses, of which in fact they were a smaller edition. We see this also in the gradual decline of the park which, beginning as a hunting estate of some economic value, was transformed (by Capability Brown and others) into ornamental grounds, then into a garden or shrubbery. Finally the increase in land values drove the shrubbery indoors, where it still flourishes in pots in the front window, and reduced the garden to a minute patch of grass with a flower-bed in it. The whole process arose from the shopkeepers' need to 'keep up appearances', recognized

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<sup>21</sup> Banisters was a moated site, but the farm and seat may have been built on new sites. The exact position of the moat cannot be discovered.

<sup>22</sup> As these just built in Kingsland Place were described in the Southampton Guide 1821, 51.

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by the legal maxim '*de non existentibus et non apparentibus eadem est ratio*'.<sup>23</sup>

In the present century the character of Southampton has been deeply affected by influences of a cosmopolitan nature. The growth of the port has been directed by factors outside the control of the townsmen—the Southern Railway and the big shipping combines being the chief of them. The erection of a new building estate was in the past ultimately determined not by any local considerations, but by socially irresponsible bodies. Here therefore the topographer must part company, not unwillingly, with his subject, handing it on to the student of geography.

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<sup>23</sup> The line of descent here suggested may be illustrated by the following examples :— (1) Bevois Mount, *c.* 1730 (country-house in large park); (2) Bellevue House, *c.* 1770 (country-house nearer town in 'ornamental grounds'); (3) Millbrook, Waterloo and other roads on the Freemantle Estate, *c.* 1850–60 (detached villas with gardens and shrubberies); (4) Many roads in Shirley and other suburbs, late Victorian to modern (rows of houses set closely together).



# The Strategy of Anglo-Saxon Invasion

by K. D. M. DAUNCEY

THE regions of England in which the Anglo-Saxons first settled have their separate histories. In more than one of these recent archaeological discovery has brought new ideas of how the invasion took place; in the East Midlands, however, what may be called the standard interpretation of the invasion lags somewhat behind the general structure of theory which has been accepted for other areas. As offering a new approach to the study of this region no apology is proffered for the submission of fragmentary evidence which has by chance come to light, incomplete though any form of archaeological study must necessarily be in time of war. It does not, however, follow that no apology is due for the temerity with which the facts have been interpreted; for this latter only indulgence can be claimed, in that the time and circumstance justify some hazarded interpretation which may be fortunate enough to survive until more adequate examination and digestion are possible.

The two districts to be discussed lie somewhat to the edges of the East Midland area—Lincolnshire and northern Norfolk. These two regions share the phenomenon of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries identified only by cremation, bare of the complementary remains of the usual Anglo-Saxon cemetery of mixed rite.

Scientifically one can do no more than say that these sites have so far revealed only the one type of burial, for archaeology must always countenance a future and contradictory discovery. Cemeteries however, such as Sleaford,<sup>1</sup> where cremation enjoyed to a certain extent an area to itself, and might alone have been discovered, are fortunately rare. Where a longstanding knowledge of a cemetery, engaging the watchfulness of successive local antiquaries has confirmed that only cremated remains are typical of the site, a strong *a priori* argument exists for the use of the label 'pure cremation'. For some sites we have the benefit of scientific investigation; where this is lacking, the modern archaeologist owes a greater debt than he is usually willing to recognize to careful observation during the last century.

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<sup>1</sup> *Archaeologia*, vol. 50, pt. 2, 383-406.

## ANTIQUITY

In Lincolnshire<sup>2</sup> the cemeteries which may be thus defined are Kirton Lindsey<sup>3</sup> and Thealby<sup>4</sup> in the north, Wold Newton<sup>5</sup> nearer to the east coast, Ancaster<sup>6</sup> in the centre, Baston in the extreme south of the county,<sup>7</sup> and Stamford,<sup>8</sup> the latter of window-urn fame. Two additional candidates need a little explanation before they can be fitted into the classification. Of these, the first is Hough-on-Hill,<sup>9</sup> near Ancaster, where a very fine set of urns share the single floor of a small artificial tumulus with four skeletons. The problem presented by these intruders lies neither in the absence of orientation, nor in their incompleteness, nor in any absence of association, but in the incompatibility with the understood development of inhumation of four skeletons clearly contemporary with so fine a set of otherwise exclusive cremations. Several alternative explanations are available: the inclusion of four captives in the mound; an insufficiency of urns for an important but hasty burial; or the desire to inflict a permanent penalty upon the perpetrators of some pagan sacrilege. These are the merest guesses, but as illustrations of the range of possible alternatives they must be set against the improbability of a routine explanation, involving the absence of the time factor necessary for toleration of a changed rite. Thus, though unconfirmed as a member, Hough may not be left out of account in the consideration of these sites.

The second cemetery, that at Lincoln, needs discussion only because so little is known about it. Professor Myres in a recent paper<sup>10</sup> has suggested that two urns of Trollope's collection should be associated with Eastgate, Lincoln. The county museum has another

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<sup>2</sup> It is important at this point, though out of context, to guard against one possible source of confusion. It is impossible to be sure whether the minor 'pure cremation' sites in Lincolnshire represent settlements or only temporary halts where a few burials have taken place. It will be appreciated as the argument develops that the choice in this matter is free, without affecting the conclusion except as concerns the comparative chronology of the invasion. Readers who appreciate how small are the present remains from such sites as Stamford will probably be quite right in such cases to read for 'settlement' (the term generally used here) some such more appropriate term as 'encampment'.

<sup>3</sup> *Arch. Journ.*, xiv, 275, Lincoln Museum. For all these cemeteries and those in Norfolk references will be found in Baldwin Brown, *Arts in Early England*, vol. iv, pp. 793-800. It is hardly necessary to point out that the 'purity' evidence of these sites is negative; it is the inability to quote evidence which is crucial.

<sup>4</sup> C. W. Phillips, *Arch. Journ.*, xci, 182.

<sup>5</sup> *Arch. Journ.*, vi, 184. <sup>6</sup> *ibid.* xiv, 276, and xxvii, 4.

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.* xx, 29. <sup>8</sup> *ibid.* xxvi, 92. <sup>9</sup> *Assoc. Arch. Soc.*, xxxviii, 313.

<sup>10</sup> *Antiquaries Journal*, 1937, xvii, 424 f.

## THE STRATEGY OF ANGLO-SAXON INVASION

Eastgate urn,<sup>11</sup> as well as that which was transferred from Dorchester Museum,<sup>12</sup> which derives from its associates a suggestion of Eastgate origin. This group is not likely to have lain alone, but the particular region involved is one where little excavation has been possible. On the other hand, the only evidence of Saxon inhumation from this well-dug city is an odd girdle-hanger from an entirely different vicinity. As the evidence stands, Lincoln must be regarded as having, at the very least, the nucleus of a pure cremation site.

The accredited cremation sites in Norfolk are better known. These are Shropham,<sup>13</sup> Markshall,<sup>14</sup> Walsingham<sup>15</sup> among the more famous ; Pensthorpe,<sup>16</sup> Sedgeford<sup>17</sup>, North Elmham,<sup>18</sup> Castle Acre<sup>19</sup> and Castor-by-Norwich<sup>20</sup> being hardly less well known. All these are to the north of the county, nearest to Lincolnshire. The two areas are not however similar. Not only are there differences of distribution, but in Lincolnshire these pure sites are a minority among many large and important mixed sites, whereas in the Norfolk region the pure cremation sites are in the majority, and, in fact, including those ornaments and trappings which have 'passed through the fire',<sup>21</sup> the normal associations of Saxon burial are very much rarer in this zone of Norfolk than anywhere else. They are not however so rare that there is any reason to suppose that scarcity is due to any other cause than the destruction of normal Saxon ornaments and accoutrements by the practice of the cremation rite, which, it would therefore

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<sup>11</sup> Lincoln County and City Museum. I am very much indebted to the Curator for the help and assistance he has, on more than one occasion, afforded me.

<sup>12</sup> Lincoln Museum. See Myres and Collingwood, *Roman Britain and the Saxon Settlements*, 414 note 3, and 456 n.

<sup>13</sup> *Arch. Journ.* ix, 116.

<sup>14</sup> Norwich Castle Museum Catalogue of Antiquities, 51 f.; *Procs. Soc. of Antiquaries*, Series 2, iv, 172.

<sup>15</sup> Sir Thomas Browne, *Urn Burial*. See Baldwin Brown, op. cit.

<sup>16</sup> *Procs. Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd ser., iv, 292; Jewitt, *Grave Mounds and their Contents*, 294; Norwich Castle Museum Catalogue of Antiquities, 51 f.

<sup>17</sup> Norwich Castle Museum, *ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> *Arch. Journ.*, x, 161; Jewitt, op. cit. 217-8; Neville, *Saxon Obsequies*, 24-33.

<sup>19</sup> *Procs. Soc. Ant.*, 2nd ser., iv, 172; *Norfolk Archaeology*, xii, 100.

<sup>20</sup> Pending the publication of details about this site, it is impossible to dogmatize. The superficial impression that it is a pure cremation cemetery is not borne out by all references. The argument is not affected either way.

<sup>21</sup> Baldwin Brown, op. cit., iv, 793; Leeds, *Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology*, 33. Brooches with a similar history also come from Ancaster and Baston but are obviously less important there.



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appear, continued longer, and so affected typological survival more strongly, in Norfolk than in Lincolnshire.

A second difference between the two areas is to be noted in that Lincolnshire has not only a more or less complete run of pagan



THE DISTRIBUTION OF 'PURE' CREMATION IN THE EAST MIDLANDS

'Pure' Cremation Cemeteries :—● Cemeteries with mixed rite :—○

ornaments, but its share of the ornaments and arms of the following period. These are largely absent from northern Norfolk despite the richness during the same period of its immediate neighbours.

The importance of these two particular groups of sites depends upon the significance of the individual type. Obviously whether

## THE STRATEGY OF ANGLO-SAXON INVASION

exclusive cremation implies the absence of a certain number only of the earliest inhumation ornaments, as in Lincolnshire, or of a larger and more sustained selection as in Norfolk, it is an ability to resist the forces responsible for the change-over to the inhumation rite which is the basic factor. Resistance of the Romano-British and semi-Christian influences which so early changed the funerary rites of the invaders is synonymous with the retention of a strong pagan element. Such conditions imply chronological priority in invasion history and, as part and parcel of the same argument, that the settlers concerned were in close and immediate touch with their fatherland.

Such priority does not however embrace the whole of the phenomenon. It is impossible with our present knowledge of the chronological parallels and differences ascribable to regionalism to make comparisons with the early settlements of other areas; but between the first phases of the sites under discussion and the earliest cremation remains of the mixed cemeteries in the same area, only some differentiation other than the purely chronological can be adequate. For such a comparison the 'pure' sites are characterized not by their antiquity but by their abandonment before they could become contaminated by the new rule, whether it made its presence felt early or late, and whether the sites involved ranked among the most important or the least so. Abandonment in such circumstances can only imply a cessation of the function of the particular sites involved, and clearly marks the division between the 'pure' group and the notable cremation elements in such early and important sites as Sleaford and Peterborough. The function which accords with both exclusive cremation and this particular characteristic is that of a settlement holding itself aloof, physically, socially, and mentally from its inhumation practising neighbours, Saxon or British. When associated with invasion, such a state of affairs implies settlement amidst continued hostility, and presents a picture quite different from the easy relationship between inhabitants and invaders pictured by most cemeteries as characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon settlement. The picture here is rather one of isolated groups in a foreign land, strongly suggestive of small war-like bands or the several encampments of an army.

The two areas involved demonstrate this in practice. In Lincolnshire such cemeteries are found alongside others, many of which are themselves of considerable antiquity. Comparatively, however, the antiquity of the latter is limited if the region's primary group is to be distinguished as a settlement of military character, which must,

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*ex natura*, be earlier than the general population of the area. The apparent early termination of these pure sites as demonstrated by the early inhumation remains in the neighbouring cemeteries, is therefore best explained as due to the anachronism of 'aloof' settlements, once general settlements of the ordinary type are established. Some of the earlier group, no doubt, such as Hough-on-Hill, represent only the most transitory use. That the later sites were placed according to fertility and suitability for permanent settlement, as opposed to military considerations, is no doubt an important element in the change of site.

In Norfolk the somewhat different archaeological picture admits of the same explanation. It is not possible to account more satisfactorily for such a concentration and continuing tradition of exclusiveness, than by the concept of a military settlement of the region, involving all the most stable and durable elements of the pagan heroic tradition, enshrined in the organization of the military classes. The establishment of the invaders upon a military rather than a civilian pattern, with special traditions of relationship with the British inhabitants and perhaps their own weaker compatriots also, explains an essential feature in the situation.

Viewed thus it is the distribution of these cremation cemeteries which becomes the focus of interest. That a definite pattern is involved is immediately apparent, especially in the geographical sense. The Lincolnshire cemeteries, with the single exception of Wold Newton which is not far from the Roman road from the Humber to Horncastle, all lie approximately in a single line down the central Lincolnshire axis of Ermine Street. This is not to say that they all with one accord differ from the standard *dicta* that Saxon sites keep aloof from the Roman roads, but those which do not fall upon the road are not very far away. The line terminates with Baston and Stamford in the south, which are not very far from the junction of Ermine Street with the Denver Causeway, connecting the Lincolnshire line with the Norfolk group. This latter has the form of a cluster rather than a series, and it is not likely that further knowledge about the road connexions of Norfolk would demand substantial alteration of this impression.

That this complete series, in which Norfolk can be quite justifiably regarded as a single unit, does not in fact represent the cultural or political connexion which such a line of otherwise unparalleled phenomena implies, is inconceivable. There is thus formed a picture of military



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settlement along a quadrant of road which, with the addition of the Norfolk unit, completes a line around the Wash throughout its immediate hinterland, and embraces a control upon all the strategic points involved in invasion from the Wash into the basins of the fenland rivers. The exceptions to this are Peterborough and Castor, where comparable remains might have been expected, especially in view of the strategical position of the latter. This exception need however cause no surprise, for such omissions are of the nature of historical reality, and the association of some sites with fortified Roman positions does not prove that the Anglians preferred to occupy on all occasions the defensive strategic points suited to Roman arms. On the contrary all that we know of Saxon methods of warfare suggests that mobile Teutonic arms could by nature hold an area or a long stretch of road, as such, (and at that, from settlements slightly removed from the road itself) better than a fortified position.\*

The concept of primary settlement with strategic principles dependent in whole or part upon the Romano-British road system is at one with the current developments in Anglo-Saxon research, as proposed by Professor Chadwick and Mr Leeds, in opposition to the old idea of haphazard and piecemeal infiltration. Modern research has however gone further, both by implication in Mr Leeds' demonstration of the settlement of Wessex<sup>22</sup> and in Professor Chadwick's outspoken contention<sup>23</sup> not merely that invasion movements took place in some definite and sustained manner and direction, from single points, but that invasion of England could only have been possible by an army arriving with intent to achieve a military conquest. The continuation here of research along identical lines is clearly indicated, since the related distribution of the pure sites bears much less the mark of diverse armed bands than of the co-ordinated encampments of part of an army.

Such research is to be pursued in the first instance by examination of the direction of any detectable movement. It is of course likely that the connected series of cemeteries represents only individual though contemporary entries by all the available routes,—the Norfolk coast, the Witham and Sleas, the Welland and Glen, and the Humber, or any

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\* A differentiation must of course be made between the warfare of the Migration Period and the defensive tactics used by the Anglo-Saxons at the time of the Danish incursions.

<sup>22</sup> See p. 59 below.

<sup>23</sup> Chadwick, *Origin of the English Nation*, II-12.

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selection of these. There are however no particular arguments to be advanced for entry by these points except the identity of some of the sites with areas of potential river-entry. The exact status of these can be better assessed in due course; the general hypothesis is to be balanced against the claims of one particular point of entry—the Norfolk zone. Northern Norfolk shares with Kent an otherwise unique attraction for the primitive invader. Like southeast Kent it is cut off on all sides save one from the rest of the country, for the fenlands, which form the third defensible side, provide little opportunity for attack as compared with the well-known advantages for defence or sortie of a narrow entrance causeway. Here the invader could enjoy the period of recuperation which is a necessary prelude to attacks further inland, and yet combine with his seclusion ample facilities for the next attack. The area is, moreover, fertile enough for such a sojourn, though insufficiently so to discourage further expansion to richer pastures. The geographical structure allows freedom of movement in whatever direction is required. The coastline not only provides suitable access for any type of landing, but stands out into the North Sea as a noteworthy target for a continental invader.

Thus Norfolk had all the characteristics of a potential invasion cradle-land. The concept is one which cannot fail to call to mind that the Icknield Way, down which Mr Leeds has shown Wessex to have been settled,<sup>24</sup> does not lead only to the Cambridge Region, but further north, into this very area of northern Norfolk. Fortunately the gap between the types of evidence involved makes impossible the temerity of an attempt to fill out Mr Leeds' hypothesis, but the possibility or coincidence cannot be disregarded. In this connexion it is unnecessary to recall that between the region around the very edge of the cremation zone, where typological remains are very plentiful, on the one hand, and both East Anglia and Mid-Anglia, including all the Cambridge region, on the other, there are many connexions and parallels.

Viewed in this light our picture of northern Norfolk begins to assume perspective and coherence. It is a picture of sustained military settlement, insistent upon the maintenance of pagan traditions and avoidance of all contaminating contacts. The elimination of the elements responsible for such contamination contributes vitally, though to an unknown degree, to the pagan survival, and so makes more complete afterwards the absence of political elements of any importance,

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<sup>24</sup> *History*, x, 97; *Antiquaries Journal*, XIII, 229.

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when the military tradition and settlement becomes obsolete. Into the later period however it is not possible to look too closely. We have not here the material for a clear understanding, and can do no more than note that certain possible consequences fall into line with certain original events. Thus it is not important whether the inhumation cemeteries of the Norfolk zone are contemporary exceptions to the continuing cremation tradition, or whether cremation there was but little longer lived than in Lincolnshire and that the inhumation sites are the few paltry successors. Whichever was the case, it is clear that there was here a purer paganism and a stronger and more isolated military element than anywhere else, which can be associated only with the use of the country as the area of primary settlement in eastern England. Thence the military arm pushed into Lincolnshire to obtain a grip on the strategic line of Ermine Street, after which the general settlement of the region could begin. It is unnecessary to drag the reader back over earlier ground to note how well such a local history for Norfolk, however short the period before the extension inland began, attunes with the thick distribution and staying power of the cremation cemeteries, and how the reduction in scale of the Lincolnshire repetition also fits with the subsidiary character of the movement in that direction. Of the strategic importance of the movement there can be no question, and if the chronological details of the after effects are a little blurred there are many other features which cannot be hidden. It is perhaps even possible to notice the survival from the north of a pagan tradition in East Anglia in the cenotaph-burial of Redwald at Sutton Hoo, despite the manifest Christianization of both the kingdom and the royal house. That this picture cannot be completed by historical records of a genuine continental dynastic continuity, will cause no surprise to those who consider how many potential fates were available for the forerunners of the hard pressing race of invaders, whose political configurations did not take shape until the wave of occupation had reached far into the Midlands.

It is strategically, and not from the point of view of direction or degree, that this concept of the invasion is important. So far from undermining, it strengthens the general concept of the main settlement, for not only are the roads made potentially available to assist the settlers, but the movement of the main groups is now based upon strategic essentials. Nor is it probable that there was any appreciable time-lag between the general movement and its military prologue (of which the effects long outlasted the actual operation); as is



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confirmed by the slight degree in which the primary stage affects the distribution of settlement by, and in the same direction as, riverine infiltration. To this, the configuration of the cemeteries along the river Trent provides the only exception; for, far from showing any of the characteristics of a highway of invasion, it has actually all those of a frontier. This is shown both by the cremation cemeteries which cling exclusively to the eastern bank, and by its later part in political history. Thus it confirms the shape of a settlement which might be expected to develop from an inner line of advance from the south to the north of Lincolnshire, which is seen in concrete form in the wave of small but early cemeteries which push from the Ancaster gap towards the Trent valley.

It is quite unnecessary to follow out in detail the relation of the primary sites to this general and widespread movement, except to note that all the primary sites, including Wold Newton (though in a backwater) are placed at points where the general inroads of settlement are soon to develop. Wold Newton has not the riverine associations of most of its contemporaries, associations which have been noted earlier as possible indications that the settlement proceeded, in the first place, from riverine points, afterwards linked to one another. It is much more likely, however, that the establishment of primary sites at points upon or close to inland flowing rivers is to be connected with the early realization of the lines which riverine settlement would take, and the desirability of establishing positions as nearly upon these lines as military considerations would permit.

Logic, which does not of course follow the same road as historical reality, asks of such a proposition why it is that the two greater fenland rivers, the Nene and the Ouse, are omitted. In the case of the first, Peterborough, which also lies very close to Castor and to all intents and purposes guards the junction of Denver Causeway and Ermine Street, has many cremation remains from its satellite cemeteries,<sup>25</sup> and is no doubt to be regarded as among the very first of the 'secondary' settlements. So far as strategic control was concerned, the fact that a road ran across the Nene and led to and from Saxon points of occupation obviated the necessity here, as elsewhere, of an actual settlement at every potentially important spot.

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<sup>25</sup> e.g. Fletton, Woodstone, Palmerston Road. *Journ. British Arch. Assoc.*, N.S. LV, 343; *Procs. Soc. Ant.*, IX, 90; Jewitt, op. cit. 286. See especially *Vict. County Hist.*, *Hunts*.

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This is also true of the Ouse, but in part only. Since there was a much greater navigability here than on the other Wash rivers, the operative site for diffusion of settlement was Cambridge. The same rule applies for strategy; it for also be noted that to the military settlers Cambridge was no doubt considered in terms of Ermine Street and Icknield Way, especially the latter, and that all desirable control could be exercised from Norfolk. Cambridge, like Peterborough, must be regarded as in the very front line of secondary settlements, the immediate successors of the inner line sites.

This digression cannot rank as proof of the hypothesis discussed, but it may help to remove a difficulty or two. Of evidence of a more concrete sort, apart from the fragments already adduced, little can be expected, least of all from the field of typology, for although the chronological gap is narrow, the gap between the evidence of cremation and inhumation cannot yet be bridged. What typological evidence there is that can be considered separately confirms the standard view of the invasion in its secondary stages; even such of those earliest Teutonic finds as are not excluded by their Romano-Germanic flavour from association with the invasion proper, fit equally smoothly into both the primary and secondary concepts, representing, no doubt, the first small parties which pushed inland from the military lines.

If, however, no special secondary conditions attach to the primary settlement, the conditions of the day are eloquent in its support. Mr Woolridge<sup>26</sup> has expressed doubts about the usefulness of the fenland rivers for invasion purposes, so far as navigation is concerned, beyond their first lateral reach; and if, as is now generally accepted, the fens were at the time of the invasion much as they were throughout the rest of the Saxon period, the physical penetration along or beside the fenland rivers certainly provides one of the basic difficulties in the theory of invasion by that medium. An important complementary difficulty is the deep hatred of the fenlands which is common to all northern Teutonic races and continued into Scandinavian saga and Christian practice.<sup>27</sup> It is hard to picture the use of the unknown fenlands as a route of entry for such a people seeking better abodes than those they had. Both these difficulties are removed from the theory of infiltration when prefaced by a primary settlement which has contact with the

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<sup>26</sup> Woolridge, in *Historical Geography* (ed. by Darby), 105.

<sup>27</sup> Note *Memorials of St. Guthlac*, ch. 19 (ed. Birch) and in Beowulf lines 11, 103 f. and 1260 f. These examples require no supplementing from the many English and Scandinavian quotations on the same theme.

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fenlands only where they are crossed by the Denver Causeway. Psychological difficulties vanish when the fens are known to be only a narrow strip bordering a rich land, over which strategic control is already held. Physical difficulties also become unimportant when knowledge of geography and of suitable methods of travel can be provided, and when it is possible to stop and change ways of locomotion and make any other preparations necessary or choice of objective just before the ways become difficult. In this connexion it is hardly necessary, since so much stress has been laid on the strategy of the situation, to point out that the absence of any British resistance in the east Midlands, comparable to that in the south and west, was due at least in part to the rapid strategic hold obtained upon the whole area, which made any resistance worthy of chronicle impossible.

Part with the evidence of the contemporary background is that of the Heroic Age and its military implications. The true flavour of the warlike activities of the Migration Period is sufficiently established to need little elaboration. The idea of piecemeal infiltration by small bands is, despite the concept of tribal leadership, quite foreign to Teutonic organization, except in a secondary sense. The military unit of the heroic age was of the type of an enlarged Beowulf's band, bared of its epic halo. Perhaps the best example is the party, or army—for there is little difference in days of small armies—which appears in the Finnsburgh fragment and the Finn episode in Beowulf, and amongst the leaders of which was that Hengist who, as there can be little rational doubt<sup>28</sup> later led with Horsa the invasion of Kent. He was then at the head of an army of mixed nationality willing to go wherever would best pay him. His following might not be warriors only, but the tribal following, never, in that age, far behind any military advance which gave it scope, was no doubt separated by only a short breathing space, as the record testifies. Leaders such as these, whether spurred on by political events overseas or by hopes of what they had to gain, are the reality of the age with which we are concerned, and their abilities and desires fit with ease into the historical structure suggested by our inquiry. Such men were experienced military leaders and their continental lore no doubt included an appreciation of the value of the Roman road. These are not of course the mighty political and military leaders such as operated in southern and central Europe, for they are of the North Sea world of smaller maritime nations, but as compared with the settlers who followed them they came not only prepared, but well

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<sup>28</sup> Chadwick, *op. cit.* 49-50.



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able, to slay more willingly, to destroy more thoroughly, and to maintain without contamination<sup>29</sup> the full pagan glory of the Heroic tradition, and withal to use in Roman Britain the strategic framework prepared by the Romans.

There is clearly no need to point out the limitations of this hypothesis. Whether it is an edifice built upon the sand or upon the rock will be shown only by the measure in which it survives the criticism which it makes so bold as to hope it may endure. When there are no tools to discern clearly between the rock and the sand there can be neither thought nor hope of permanence until that day comes, when in fuller knowledge the edifice may be either rebuilt or abandoned.

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<sup>29</sup> It is hardly thought necessary to detail the very different Kentish conditions which welded so different a result out of much the same material as in the east.

# The Double-ended Fire-dog

by IORWERTH C. PEATE

IN the first published description<sup>1</sup> of the Capel Garmon fire-dog (PLATE, p. 64), J. Evans quotes a view concerning its use: 'I would suggest that this instrument is intended to hold the spits for roasting fowls, game or other small animals. . . . The loops on the side are evidently intended for that purpose, and it is probable that the horns of the two heads are intended for supporting a larger one'.

On the other hand, in the latest description of the same fire-dog,<sup>2</sup> it is suggested that this fire-dog formed one of a pair: 'The evidence of the Welwyn and other finds suggests that two fire-dogs was the normal equipment of the Celtic (central) hearth, whether secular or sacred, and it needs little imagination to appreciate the effect of a pair of "Capel Garmon" fire-dogs with flaming logs between'.

These two views are contradictory. In the earlier, it is assumed that the one fire-dog used was placed *across* the hearth in front of the fire, the loops serving to hold spits.<sup>3</sup> If this were so, the two ox-heads, with their decorative 'manes' and terminal scrolls, would be seen to the best advantage one on each side of the fire. It may be recalled that one fire-dog only was discovered on the Capel Garmon site.

In the later view, a pair of fire-dogs was placed on the flanks of the fireplace 'with flaming logs between'. Only 'from the flanks of the

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<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Camb.*, 1856, p. 95.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Cyril Fox, *Antiquaries Journal*, 1939, pp. 446-8.

<sup>3</sup> Such a belief has been widely held by later writers. For instance, L. A. Shuffrey (*The English Fireplace*, 1912, p. 10) states that the Capel Garmon fire-dog was 'obviously for use in a central hearth' and that 'the loops up the sides . . . were probably for the purpose of resting the spit-irons in for roasting purposes'. J. Seymour Lindsay (*Iron and Brass Implements of the English House*, 1927, p. 3) contrasts the double-ended dog with the single-ended 'constructed for use with the wall down-hearth . . . [and] used in pairs'. Percy Macquoid and Ralph Edwards (*The Dictionary of English Furniture*, II, 1924) draw attention to the single double-ended dog (of Capel Garmon type) at Pensehurst. 'This pair of andirons' as the fire-dog is described, 'is coupled by a billet bar supported in the centre, and against this bar the logs are stacked'. Joseph Déchelette (*Manuel d'archéologie*, II, 1914, p. 1407) writes: 'les boucles formées par les ondulations pouvaient recevoir les extrémités des broches de cuisine'. In none of these descriptions is it suggested that double-ended dogs were used in pairs. From the description in one of them, it might be inferred that the fire-dog was even so placed that the billet bar fell across the fire itself, but this would have been impracticable where there was no central support for the billet bar.



THE CAPEL GARMON FIRE-DOG  
*Ph. National Museum of Wales*





## THE DOUBLE-ENDED FIRE-DOG

fireplace [would] the knobbed crests . . . be the dominating motifs'. That is, a pair of double-ended dogs would be placed in H fashion, the logs forming the bar of the H, their heads resting on the cross-bar of each fire-dog. This view, that the double-ended fire-dog was always used in pairs, a view succinctly stated by Sir Cyril Fox in the paper referred to, has always left me dubious. What is the evidence for it? 'The evidence of the Welwyn and other finds'. But at Welwyn *three* identical fire-dogs were found:<sup>4</sup> as evidence of a pair, three are as unsatisfactory as one. At Hay Hill between Barton and Wimpole, at Mount Bures, Essex and at Stanfordbury Beds.<sup>5</sup> two double-ended dogs were found in each case. Did these two form a pair in each instance? There is no evidence, while at Stanfordbury the two fire-dogs were accompanied by four spits. Were those spits used on a pair of double-ended fire-dogs placed not in front but on the flanks of the fire? They would have been far less effective in that position for such a purpose.

But it should not be forgotten that, as in the Capel Garmon example, there are many instances of sites which have yielded only one double-ended dog and that on at least one continental site 'an unburnt burial of the late Hallstatt period contained fire-dogs *and a bundle of spits*'.<sup>6</sup>

In view of all the evidence, I venture to put forward the following tentative suggestions:—

(1) Spits may be presumed to have been used in association with double-ended fire-dogs on central hearths, as they certainly were with the later single-ended dogs on wall-hearths; (2) consequently we should expect the double-ended dog to have been placed across the front of the fire, not on its flank, and in such a position the loops and horns of the Capel Garmon specimen would be functional; (3) if such were the case, it may be presumed that the use of one double-ended dog only was normal.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> *Archaeologia*, LXIII, 5.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.* pp. 6–9.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.* p. 6.

<sup>7</sup> Déchelette (*op. cit.* p. 1411) and others have drawn attention to two iron 'tables' from the Département de la Marne and Arras which may have been evolved from two double-ended fire-dogs placed parallel and joined to form a rectangular frame. A similar frame, but without zoomorphic characteristics was discovered at Welwyn. It has been suggested—by Déchelette and R. A. Smith—that these are Keltic imitations of the sacrificial table used in classical antiquity. They may indeed have been a form of brazier (*cf.* the example in the Bayeux tapestry). But a discussion of their use is outside the scope of this paper. If they were evolved from a pair of fire-dogs it is obvious from the proportions of their length and breadth that they were used on the front and back of the fire, not on its flanks. In such cases, there would be no fireback-stone (*see below*). But the possibility is extremely problematical and cannot be argued without more evidence.

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Some elaboration of these suggestions follows.

Anyone who has attempted fire-making on an open (central) hearth will realize the difficulty of maintaining a permanent fire without some kind of fire-back. The appearance of a fire-back on a central hearth, originating possibly for this practical reason, is of high antiquity. For example, in the Welsh Laws, codified in the tenth century by Hywel Dda, king of Wales, and believed to contain elements of earlier date, evidence is found that the central-hearth fire-back was so well-established that it had become a symbol of property and was looked upon with veneration and respect—proof indeed of its antiquity. The fireplace lay ‘in the centre of the [Welsh] house’ as Ellis stresses<sup>8</sup> and ‘at the back of the fireplace stood the fireback-stone, the *pentanfaen*, and once it had been placed in position it was an offence to remove it. The house itself might be destroyed . . . but the *pentanfaen* was never removed. It stood as a perpetual sign that the site where it stood was the site of an occupied homestead’. This central fireplace with its *pentanfaen* is of fundamental importance in the Welsh laws. The laws relating to property which grew up around this feature are a positive indication of its consistent occurrence in Wales down to the time of Hywel Dda. The same feature—a central fireplace with a stone fire-back (so Sir Cyril Fox informs me)—is to be found in the stone-huts of the *citania* on Monte Tecla at Guardia, north of the estuary of the river Minho in western Spain, where much Keltiberian material was found.

The fireback-stone was a large slab placed on edge. Campbell<sup>9</sup> has described a similar feature in Ireland, transferred there, as in Wales in later times, to the wall-hearth, and a central-hearth example was in existence in the Shetland Isles<sup>10</sup> in 1909 (FIG. 1). In short, the central hearth in Keltic Britain did not possess Fox’s ‘two sides—and these the most important’ as well as two flanks. It was three-sided only—a front, two flanks and a solid stone back. It is unlikely that a pair of finely-wrought double-ended fire-dogs would be placed on the flanks so that the effect of two of the impressive horned heads was lost against the fireback-stone.

But the evidence of the Welsh Laws helps us still further. The laws concerning women deal, *inter alia*, with the distribution of property

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<sup>8</sup> T. P. Ellis, *Welsh Tribal Law and Custom* (1926), II, p. 164 ; see also the present writer’s *The Welsh House* (1940), chapter VI.

<sup>9</sup> Å. Campbell, ‘Notes on the Irish House’, *Folkliv*, 1937, p. 230.

<sup>10</sup> *Country Life*, 1909, p. 447.



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between husband and wife. The husband is to have<sup>11</sup> the coulter, the fuel-hatchet, the griddle, etc., and the *pentan haearn*. In every reference to this last object, the noun is in the singular. What was the *pentan haearn*? Owen translates it as 'iron hob'. But like so many of his attempts, Owen's translation is unsatisfactory. We are dealing here with laws of which there is a manuscript written about 1180 while the word 'hob' appeared in English for the first time in the early

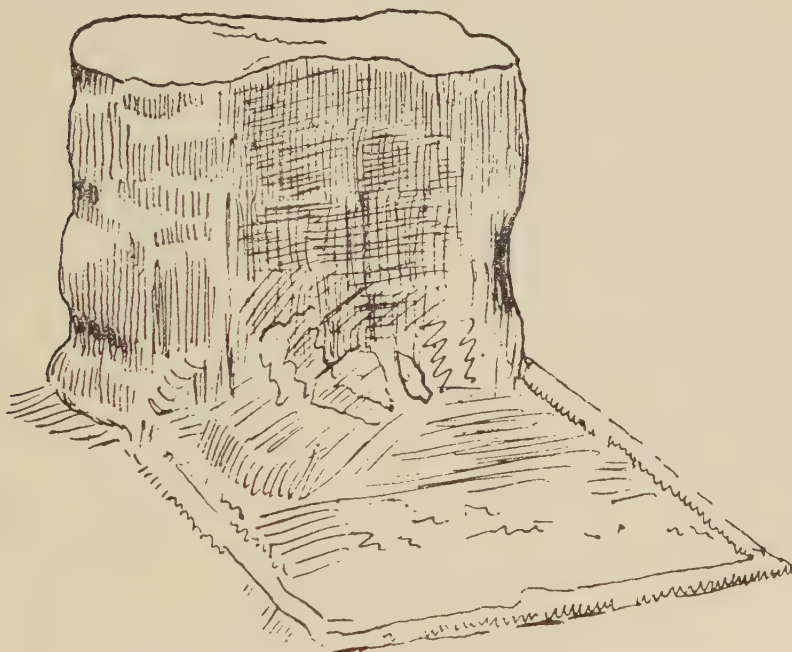


FIG. 1. A CENTRAL FIREPLACE WITH STONE FIRE-BACK, SHETLAND ISLES, 1909

16th-century. In fact, an iron hob was a late innovation: in *modern* Welsh this late feature is now known as *pentan* and Owen obviously accepted the modern meaning. His translation must be rejected, especially since the text refers to one *pentan* not two. In the Latin text (about 1180) in which the Laws were translated into Latin for the benefit of foreign bishops and abbots who came into Wales, the term used<sup>12</sup> is *retentaculum*, again in the singular, meaning 'something

<sup>11</sup> A. Owen, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, I, 522.

<sup>12</sup> *ibid.* II, p. 793.

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which holds in [the fire]'. This I submit can only be a double-ended fire-dog placed in front of the fire parallel with the fireback-stone, to hold in the fire, the '*pentanfaen*' at the back, the '*pentan haearn*' in front, stone and iron (as the Welsh has it) literally at each 'head of the fire'.

Proof that *pentan haearn* was in medieval times the normal Welsh term for 'fire-dog' is found in the work of two Welsh poets of the 15th and 16th centuries respectively. Their work indeed shows that the term had become normal in the course of time, with the development of fashion, for the single-ended dog of medieval type.

The 15th-century poet<sup>13</sup> was Llywelyn ap Gutun, who wrote a poem entitled *Cywydd y pentanau* (note the plural). He solicited a pair of (single) fire-dogs which he likens in turn to two deer perceiving the dogs and to two snakes. The reference to deer especially is important as showing the continuity of the tradition of the zoomorphic character of these fire-dogs. He asks that on the crest of each snake there should be a small loop for turning a spit in it :—

ar y grib ar bob gwiber  
modrwy bach ym i droi bêr.

Here then is 15th-century evidence (a) of the use of the term *pentan* for a fire-dog; (b) of looped fire-dogs for holding spits and (c) of the persistence of zoomorphic characteristics in fire-dogs into the 15th century at least.

In 1575-6, Wiliam Cynwal writes to John ab Edwart Llwyd to solicit *dau bentan haearn* (two iron 'pentans'). These were to be of 'identical shape', 'twins' and with 'three feet' each :—

a ffob vn vn llvn yn llwm  
ar y Trithroed . . .  
yn efellion. . .

From the description it is clear that these fire-dogs were of the single-ended medieval type (FIG. 2) with two feet in front and one behind, the only type which could naturally be used in pairs against a fire-back.

To sum up : (a) *pentan* was the normal term for a fire-dog in the 15th-16th centuries and for a pair the plural *pentanau* was used; (b) in the earlier Welsh Laws, the same term appears in the singular only and, I submit, could have connoted only a single fire-dog (presumably

<sup>13</sup> For transcripts of the two poems I am much indebted to my friend Mr Evan D. Jones, Keeper of the Manuscripts in the National Library of Wales. The poems appear in Peniarth MS. 77 and Mostyn MS. 111 respectively, in that Library.

## THE DOUBLE-ENDED FIRE-DOG

of Capel Garmon type) placed to hold in the fire (*retentaculum*), across its front, the fireback-stone forming the back ; (c) if a pair had been used we should find the plural form *pentanau*, which however does not appear once in the Laws.

Placed in the front position referred to, the decorative qualities of the two horned heads and 'manes' of the Capel Garmon fire-dog, seen in profile, would be displayed to the best advantage. At the same time, the horns and loops fulfilled their functions as spit-holders, the looped ribbons being worked into terminal rings at the base. These

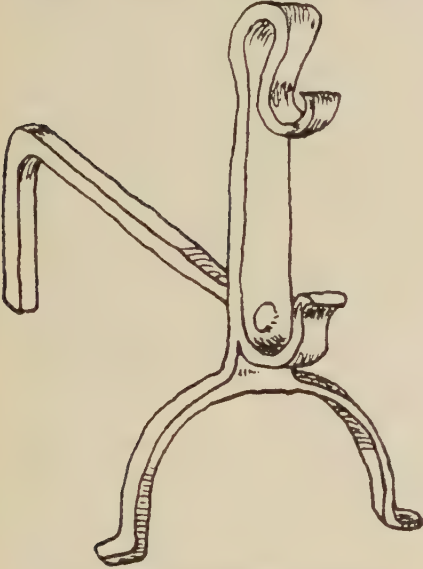


FIG. 2. A SINGLE-ENDED FIRE-DOG :  
MEDIEVAL. NOTE THE SPIT LOOPS

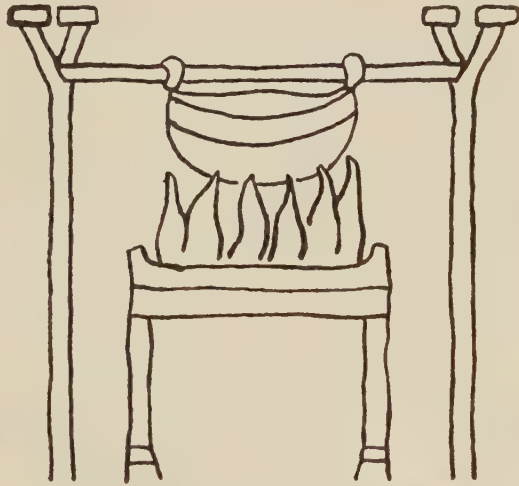


FIG. 3. BRAZIER-RAISED FIRE, AS SHOWN  
IN THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY

rings are different in proportion and size from the loops and might be fairly considered as a simple decorative treatment of the ribbon ends. But they also may have been functional : the arched feet are imperfect and we have no precise knowledge of their length.

It may be argued that whereas the shafts of the Capel Garmon example are looped, there are a number of plain-shafted dogs with only horned heads and that, further, it is unlikely that spits were supported on the horns since these would be too high up for the purpose. In such an argument it could be held that the plain-shafted dogs provide no means of adjustment for the height of the spits.



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Such contentions do not appear to me to be valid. When a spit was placed across the horns of plain-shafted dogs *it was the height of the fire which could be varied* and I suggest that the later development of the plain-shafted dog is found in the Bayeux tapestry scene (FIG. 3) where two plain-shafted supports are shown, but with a brazier-raised fire. This is not to posit a prehistoric use of braziers (though such a use is possible), for roasting was not always done within a few inches of the fire and, when it was, the fire could be built up.

It may be argued further that the shaft-loops of the Capel Garmon example, from (and including) the horns down to the lowest loop above the arched feet, represent an early attempt at providing adjustment for the spits. Each could be used in turn according to the nature of the cooking and the height of the fire. They can be considered as an early equivalent of the medieval ratchet-adjustment on single-ended dogs. The loops and horns are all strongly made and I can see no objection to considering as functional these structures which to the modern eye are so decorative. Indeed it seems ludicrous to me to suppose that such an elaboration of loops would have been evolved for decorative purposes only. That a functional feature should also happen to be decorative is often a characteristic of folk-art. Déchelette's conclusion,<sup>14</sup> it seems to me, is correct. Writing of the Capel Garmon fire-dog, he states: 'On a pris à tort ces boucles pour de simples ornements. Ce sont, en réalité, les points de support des broches'.

I suggest therefore that the use of fire-dogs of Capel Garmon type, singly, was normal and that the presence of two or more fire-dogs on some sites should not be taken as proof that they were always used in pairs. At the same time, the presence of two and even three fire-dogs on the same site needs an explanation. Is that explanation to be found in the fact that with the dead were buried the significant symbols of their social status? The lord of three hearths would take with him to the other world these tangible indications of his social superiority. When we find two or three swords buried together, we do not argue that their number precludes their use singly. It has some other significance. The same is true, I think, of fire-dogs.

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<sup>14</sup> J. Déchelette, 'Les origines de la drachme' in *Revue Numismatique*, 1911, p. 48.

# How Homer wrote the *Odyssey*

by STANLEY CASSON

MORE thoroughly silly questions have been asked about Homer than about any other man or topic. Did Homer exist? Was there one Homer or two Homers? Were the Homeric poems composed by a syndicate or by one man? and so on and so on. Only in thoroughly academic minds could such questions generate. Only minds dead to poetry and the modes of its composition would waste themselves on such mental trivialities, on such extravagant fantasies.

Of one thing we are sure, that the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad* are at once the first and the greatest of all European epics, that they were composed deliberately, and that they deal with the deeds of men who might have lived, or did actually live, in an age of which we are fortunate enough to know a good deal more than the mere historical outlines.

That Homer was a man, one single man only, and that he wrote both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* I am convinced by one thing. I am prepared to jettison all the Syndicalists, all those who believe that two separate men wrote the two poems, and all those who think that the poems just grew like mushrooms from nothing. The single thing that convinces me is a personal thing, a thing so peculiar and so rare that it indicates one mind and one particular outlook.

I will illustrate what I mean. In the Homeric poems the most remarkable quality, one which escapes the notice of almost every reader, is that nowhere is any leading character described in the usual way of ordinary literature. Helen—what was she like? Does anybody know? Is there any description of her? You will search in vain. But you will learn that as she passed in the streets of Troy men paused to look at her. You will find a score of oblique hints that, in the sum total, convey, ever so gently to you, that she was exquisite and beautiful. But that she had golden hair or raven, blue eyes or black, no word tells.

So with Agamemnon, Achilles, Patroclus and the rest. Even that vivid little creature Nausicaa, who lives more than any other

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character, is described to us indirectly. We are left to guess that she fell in love with Odysseus : but this she most certainly did.

‘ And Nausicaa, with her god-given loveliness, stood by the door, gazed wide-eyed, looking only at him, and said : “ Farewell stranger, remember me when you are back in your land, for to me you owe the price of your life ” ’.

But even Odysseus is never described. He the hero, the cunning, the real idol of all who read *Odyssey* or *Iliad*, not a word describes him. But in the *Iliad* is one passage which corresponds so closely in outlook to another in the *Odyssey* that it is inconceivable that two separate personalities are involved in the authorship of the two poems. In a passing comment in the former poem Homer remarks that ‘ when men stood up Menelaus overtopped them all with his broad shoulders : but when the two were seated Odysseus was the more royal ’. In the *Odyssey* when Odysseus is at the court of King Alcinous, one of the young men taunts him and says, ‘ You don’t look like an athlete ’. A foolish taunt, as the young man soon found out.

Surely, surely here is the perfect proof of one mind at work in the two poems. Odysseus is brought vividly before us by one swift stroke of the pen. He was the sort of man whom no one really noticed at first. For he was subtle in body as well as in mind. Among a crowd of lusty heroes he was insignificant. But put him on a throne and he was the true king. He was spare of build and not in the least like a professional athlete. But give him a bow and a quiver, and he could kill a score of enemies in his home.

No poet in history has used this oblique method of description other than Homer and, sometimes, Shakespeare. For the normal mind likes direct descriptive writing rather than definitions by negation. And Homer had not a normal or an ordinary mind.

It is hints like these that make it easy for me to disregard altogether half the troublesome queries of the factions of the learned world. Homer as a personality is there for the finding, if you will only go and look. What you find will certainly not prove to be a syndicate !

And so I come to the only question concerning Homer that deeply interests me. My question is, How did Homer come to write the *Odyssey* ?

You will notice that I beg two separate questions, one that Homer wrote that poem, and the second that Homer was a single poet, not a kind of Siamese bard.

To answer my question will take us on voyages to Ithaka, on board ships in the Aegean, and to holes in the ground which have been



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patiently dug by archaeologists. We must rethink the thoughts of Homer, reconstruct his doings and his life, and think of him all the time as a man who had, when he was not composing poetry, to live, to eat and drink, and to earn a living. Homer has too long been a kind of Sacred Bard, who lived on air and was not as other men. Actually he was just an ordinary traveller in Greece who had to think carefully during the course of the day how he was to provide for his sustenance the day after. In everything except poetry he was, in short, just like you and me. So let us start out on our enquiry. We will begin on that lovely island of Ithaka, whose shores are of white translucent pebbles of marble, whose waters are deep blue, the blue refracting from the marble-dust that floats suspended in the water. Ithaka, a paradise of flowers and colour and outline. We will go there with Homer.

And even Ithaka is not free from the pedant. Not many years ago we were told that Ithaka was not Ithaka at all but another island. It was bad enough having to believe that Homer was another man of the same name, but it became intolerable to learn that Ithaka was elsewhere than where we and all Antiquity had firmly believed it to be.

I am the last person to disapprove of those who set out to disturb simple faiths. All simple things require a periodical shaking up. No one should be acquiescent and uncritical for too long. But you first have to convince me that a belief in Homer as a man, and in Ithaka as an island, is a simple faith. Both beliefs really depend on a long series of patient syllogisms and on the accumulated evidence of thousands of years. Not that age alone will make a good wine. There is more to it than that. So let us look at the problem carefully and see if the sceptics are justified in jogging us out of our long-fixed ideas. Modern research, after all, has done as much to reinstate old beliefs as to overthrow them.

First let us reconstruct Ithaka as Homer describes it. When we have done that we will decide whether the description is purely imaginary, fit to suit any Greek island, or whether there is in it a hint that Homer had actually gone there. In Ithaka, says the poet :—

‘ There is no running place for horses, nor any meadow. It is a goat-pasture, and better than any pasture for horses ’.

The poet clearly likes rocky islands and is no horse-fancier. He likes a scramble and obviously detests lowlands. Odysseus, speaking to Alcinous of his homeland says :—

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‘ I dwell in far-seen Ithaka, wherein is a mountain, Neriton, covered with waving forests, conspicuous from afar. Round it lie many isles, hard by one another, Dulichion, Samē and woody Zacynthus. Ithaka lies low, and farthest out at sea towards the western gloom, but the other islands lie to the east and the sun. It is a rugged isle but a good nurse of men ’.

And that is about all that we learn in general of the island. But elsewhere, here and there, are small hints of its more particular geography. In the strait that separated it from the opposite island, Samē,

‘ There is a rocky isle, midway between Ithaka and sheer Samē, in the midst of the water, a rock of no size, with a harbour where ships may lie and a twin entrance ’.

This looks like specific observation. Possibly there is something near modern Ithaka that bears it out. Again there is the cave wherein Odysseus hid all his presents and gifts which the Phaeacian ship brought with him when they deposited him finally on Ithaka :—

‘ A pleasant shadowy cave, sacred to the Nymphs called Naiads. Two doors there are to the cave, one towards the North Wind by which men enter, and one toward the South Wind, which is sacred, nor do men enter thereby ; it is the doorway of the immortals.’

This too, looks like a description of an actual cave, not mere poetic imagination.

Contrast all this with other Homeric descriptions—Calypso’s isle, the land of the Laestrygons, Scylla and Charybdis. None of these convince us of actual geography and real places. They are fairy tales, like the cave of Polyphemus or Circe’s isle. Only Troy gives us the same feeling of reality as does Ithaka. And who would for an instant doubt that the poet could have gone to see the ruins of Troy? No matter whether he was born in Chios or Smyrna, all men agree that Homer (or the Syndicate) lived in Asia Minor. And Troy, in early Greek times, was probably as popular a battlefield for the curious tourist as the field of Waterloo is today.

The passages I have quoted have been torn to shreds by the scholars. They tell us that Ithaka cannot conceivably be called a ‘ low ’ island. It reaches a height of nearly 2000 feet. But I have been to Ithaka, and it *is* low. For its neighbour Samē (or Cephallenia) is 6000 feet high and towers above it across the strait, so that Ithaka looks like a pimple.

Again they tell us, Ithaka (as I identify it) is certainly not to be described as the island ‘ farthest out towards the western gloom ’. It certainly is not. Homer has just got a bit muddled, when he was

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back in his home composing his poem. Just so would you or I get a bit muddled in our memory of a coastline, if we went back to our homes after a summer holiday on, say the coast of Maine or Cornwall, and tried to fit in all the islands and inlets and coves and capes. What bloomers we should make as we composed our medieval William Morrisy epic in such a setting : how we should get the points of the compass mixed, and omit whole bays and islands and capes. Let us at least be fair to Homer. He was a poet, not a cartographer.

One thing is certain. The Ithaka of Homer is one of what are called the Ionian Islands of the Adriatic, consisting of the modern Zante, Cephallenia, Ithaka, and Leucas. The heretical scholars who have caused all the trouble suggest that the Homeric Ithaka is really Leucas, and they fail to explain why it is that the modern Ithaka, usually called Thiaki (which is obviously the same name) has preserved the name so faithfully. They offer suggestions to explain it, but they are ludicrous.

The problem simply stated is this. Is there any evidence to show that it was possible for a man like Odysseus, a local kinglet, to have lived in Ithaka ? If there is, then stories about his doings might have survived long after his death. Is there evidence to show that Homer the poet could have visited Ithaka ? And, thirdly, is there evidence to suggest that, at the time when Homer could have visited Ithaka, the stories about the prince Odysseus were currently told in the island and so available to the poet ?

For, as I see it, a poet composes an epic out of material collected in his wanderings, if he is a poet of antiquity ; or from his reading and his occasional travels if he is a modern poet. Homer, like all Greeks was a practical man. He looked for material, whether for the fabric of his actual verse or for the substance of his tale. Greeks rarely invented out of the pure imagination. Imaginative they were, but not out of nothing. There was nothing of the Celtic twilight about them. They did not create substance out of shadows. Homer, like all Greeks, went to look for facts and then dealt with the facts at his leisure.

So let us see how our questions can be answered. And here we call upon the archaeologists for help. They have, as a result of excavations carried out in the last few years reconstructed a picture of Ithaka based on the unassailable facts of archaeology. Here is no ground for scholarly disputes as to the meaning of words like ' low ' or ' farthest out to sea ', or whether a ' harbour ' means a place where you can tie



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up a small ship or whether it means a regular dockyard large enough for a battleship.

This is what the archaeologists tell us. At the northern end of Ithaka were found foundations and other remains of the Mycenaean Age, dating about 1300–1200 B.C., which were sufficient to pre-suppose a building large enough to serve as a Palace of Odysseus. We tend to make the silly mistake of thinking that Odysseus lived in a vast palace like that of Mycenae or Tiryns, and of that no trace has been found in the island. But Odysseus was only a petty prince of a small island ; a score of servants tended his house, and his farmlands were managed by one old man. His house was just a nice country house, no more. And the remains of a nice country house have indeed been found, belonging to precisely the time when Odysseus may be supposed to have lived—in what is known as the Heroic or the Homeric Age. So far so good. Odysseus could have lived in Ithaka.

Granted that Odysseus lived at Ithaka, and was a man of great character who had experienced many exciting adventures both at Troy and on the way home from Troy, could these tales have survived many centuries later so as to be told to Homer or any other poet ?

Here again the scientific evidence of excavation tells us the truth. Both at the south end of the island, and at the north end, remains were found which showed that a continuity of life between the Homeric Age (or the Bronze Age as we may prefer to call it) and later times had indeed existed. In the larger part of Greece proper this continuity had been hopelessly shattered by the Great Dorian invasion which swept away all the culture of the Homeric period in one overwhelming catastrophe. But away in the west, in the Adriatic, in these unimportant and little-known Ionian islands the change was not so violent. Men passed from an Age of Bronze to an Age of Iron with less catastrophe.\* Indeed in Ithaka the transition seems to have been similar to the transition in England from the peaceful Agricultural Age of the eighteenth century to the Industrial Age of the nineteenth. Ithaka and its neighbouring islands were not of sufficient importance to attract the invaders and they felt only the ripples of the great devastations that occurred. Habits of life changed ; men became poorer. The prince perished (was it then Telemachus ?) and his palace fell to ruins, but the ordinary inhabitants

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\* The Outer (western) Isles of Scotland remained similarly aloof from the Norman and English invasions of Scotland. They too were the homes of petty island chieftains, usually at war with each other, whose adventures were long remembered and told to travellers. But amongst these latter there was no Homer.—O.G.S.C.

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stayed on and their descendants continued the island mode of life. This was the evidence that the excavations provided. There was some kind of continuity. And in such conditions the stories told at every fireside and in every village inn lived on. For in an age of poverty and change the ancient tales of great men and their glorious deeds always live on to give heart to the new generation. And so in Ithaka the tales told of Odysseus and his wanderings were known to all men.

As time passed, so the evidence of the excavations shows, Ithaka came back once more into the currents of the world. Men visited it again. In the ninth and eighth centuries Hellenism was nascent and revived. Strangers from the east came to Ithaka. Ships traded with these distant islands and brought from Eastern Greece their wines and other wares. The sailors of the Greek cities of Asia Minor traded with the men of Ithaka. The excavators found their pottery among the jumbled remains of cemetery and city. From these archaeological conclusions emerges one which startlingly concerns Homer and his poetry. In the 'Life of Homer', which all Greeks of the Classical Age knew, we are told categorically that Homer sailed from the coast of Asia Minor to the island of Ithaka. And now in Ithaka we learn that ships from Asia Minor did actually do this journey. So we conclude that *Homer could have visited Ithaka!* We have the literary evidence to show that the ancients thought he did so and the archaeological to prove that there were ships on which he could have taken passage.

Let us go aboard with Homer and see what his journey would have been like. Homer the bard, who, we believe, lived and sang in the eighth century before Christ, belonged to a profession which was still itinerant. Before society is perfectly organized and solidly established on a sound economic basis, certain professions remain itinerant. Homer himself gives us a list of them in one famous passage—'the prophet, the doctor, the architect and the divine minstrel'. They still had to go from town to town asking for work, offering their services. So to-day in half-organized societies the scribe and the quack doctor wander from market to market in the Middle East. Even in our own society the tinker is still itinerant!

A century after Homer the architect found full-time employment from the city fathers, the doctor was given a place at some prince's court and perhaps the prophet was attached to a temple, as soon as temples began to be built. But the 'divine minstrel' remained itinerant longer because he was a sheer luxury, like the sophist and the philosopher who travelled lecturing down to as late as Roman times, or

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like the Christian disciples who had no fixed attachment to place or time.

So we must imagine Homer living on his precarious earnings in some Ionian city, Chios or Smyrna, no matter which. He has composed and sung his *Iliad*. Men have heard it and learned it and the demand for it is getting less. Besides men want some poem that sings less of violence and more of a settled life, of a time of wandering that ends happily in the home. For now at last cities are springing up and colonies settled; buildings and city walls and all the mechanism of a fixed urban life is beginning. So Homer has to look round for new material. He wanders round the quayside of the city in which he finds himself. He talks to sea-captains and hears of the lovely island of Ithaka. Some of them tell him fragments of the stories of Odysseus they have heard in the inns that stand on the quiet land-locked harbour of Ithaka, where to-day is the town of Vathy—'Deep Harbour'. Perhaps Homer is offered a free passage on the terms that he sings to the passengers when his ship is at sea. Perhaps he is rich enough to pay his fare.

His ship rounds Cape Matapan and forges northwest towards the great mass of Zante, set against the gloom of the setting sun. It passes Zante and heads towards the narrow strait that separates Cephallenia from Ithaka. Just before it enters it turns sharply eastwards and swings round the southern end of the island. Soon it turns westwards again and slowly winds its way into Vathy harbour. There it passes a small rock that looks for all the world like a ship at anchor, just at the harbour entrance; Homer notes it and remembers it: for it looks like a ship turned into stone.

The ship ties up at the quay: the passengers disembark and the captain spreads out his wares for sale, his wines, his fine Ionian vases, his carpets and his embroideries, just as any Greek ship does to-day. The people of Ithaka come and crowd round, for the arrival of a ship is as much an event in those days as it is now. What is the news from the wide world in the East? What sort of trip have you had? Have you news of any colonists coming to these parts? There is much talk and in front of the inns people sit and drink their wine. Homer joins the drinkers and takes a room in the inn. The harbour town is only a small one, for wise Greeks who had good harbours always built their city far away up in the hills, with stout walls round it; pirates might come and anchor at leisure in your good harbour. They could loot the inns if they wished, but if the city was up in the hills the citizens



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could see far below the pirate fleet as it arrived and prepare for their defence and for the ultimate ejection of the pirates. So Vathy town is no permanent abode, merely a place of call, with warehouses, docks and fishermen. Anywhere in the Greek islands, you will find the town far from the harbour and the harbour a mere 'skala' as it is called, a stepping stone to the city itself. Santorin, Melos, Tenos—nearly all the older Greek island towns are far removed from their harbours.

So the next day Homer takes the road up to the main town of southern Ithaka. It stood a thousand feet up on a hill known as the 'Eagle Hill', and overlooks Cephallenia and the exquisite strait that divides that island from Ithaka. Its walls still stand solid and impressive and the city crowns the hill. It was built some time in the ninth or eighth century B.C., its walls a little later. It was there when Homer could have made his trip. His road from Vathy harbour was not long, three miles or so over a neck of highland, but at the end was a stiff climb up to the city. Below it on the strait was a diminutive harbour, with a mole to which ships which passed through the strait on their way to Sicily and Italy could call for an hour to unload. 'Under-Eagle-Hill Harbour' it is now called, and from the city-walls you can look down on to what seems a toy harbourlet. Ships bound for Italy still call there. It saves them the long way round to Vathy. What the ships deposit there is taken by road three miles to Vathy harbour. It is a short-circuit, used for three thousand years for the convenience of long-distance shipping.

Homer arrives at 'Eagle City' (we do not know its ancient name but the modern is good enough). He puts up at the inn and perhaps earns a little money by singing in the evenings round the fire. But he is there for poetry not for gain, and he only has, perhaps, the two or three weeks allowed him by the captain of his boat before that boat sets out again for Asia Minor, its hold filled with a good cargo.

At 'Eagle City' Homer lives and talks to the people. They tell him all the mighty deeds of great Odysseus, who once lived in a palace at the northern end of the island. 'In a day or two', they tell him, 'some of us will go with you and show you the ruins, and we will show you all the sights of the island'. Homer walks on the steep cliff by the city and gazes—as you and I can still—down that lovely strait that divides the two islands. Of course Ithaka is a low island he thinks, for even up on this height you have to crane your neck to look at the cloudy peaks of Cephallenia. Then he looks downwards and sees standing out in the water a little rock, all by itself, from here no larger than a man's

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hand. It is the only isolated rock in the whole strait. You just cannot miss it. 'What a fine place for an ambush' he thinks. He has just heard how Telemachus, son of Odysseus of many wiles, had set out to dodge the blackguardly suitors and find his father. So he adds to the story the tale of how the suitors had laid an ambush. 'What is that islet called?' he asks his hosts. 'We call it Asteris, the star-island' they tell him. So into his now generating poem it goes, name and all. To-day the Ithakans still call it 'Star Island'. For it stands in the strait like a lonely star of gleaming white limestone.

That is how poems grow. Tales, improved by fresh stories that themselves are suggested by purely chance memories and observations. That is how Homer told the tale of the Ambush of the Suitors.

A few days later his friends—for in Greece all men are friends to poets—take him on the promised tour of the sights. With him they scramble along the precipitous western coast by a mere wraith of a pathway. 'This island of yours is a heaven for goats' he tells them. They laugh as he stumbles, for they are more sure-footed than he is. 'Yes' they reply, 'we haven't a horse on the island. We don't believe in horses much. New-fangled idea the horse', they say (for the ridden horse was then a great novelty in Greece), 'most unreliable: you never know where they will run next'! They prefer the peaceful goat, with his cynical expression and his certainty of movement. Put your goats on the hills and they always come back, they would say. But a herd of horses will vanish like the wind and never return, or break their legs on the rocks. 'No, this is the home of the best goats in the world'.

At last they reach a little town at the northern end of the island. It is hardly more than a village, but nearby in ancient times they tell him, there once stood a great city and the palace of Odysseus. To-day this village and the land near it is still called 'the City'. But the city has long perished; only its memory remains.

'Now', they say to Homer, 'we are going to show you one of the most holy places in the island. Down near the sea, in a little bay, is a cave sacred to Nymphs and Naiads and other holy beings. It has existed from time immemorial, and we all go there and take offerings. We will go in and look at it'. They scramble down, and in the dim light that shines up from the sparkling sea and the gleaming white pebble beach, they see countless offerings ranged round on the ledges of the cave. There are ancient vases dedicated there in ages far beyond the memory of man; there are small silver and gold objects and hanging painted panels, just as now in any Ithakan church. Homer peers into

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the darkness that is flecked by the movement of light from the waves below, for the cave stands just above the sea-level. In the darker corners he sees a row of shining bronze tripods, some of them with their legs supported on wheels, strange and unusual works of the metalworker's art. Homer has never seen anything like them before. He asks his friends about them. 'The cave' they reply 'is very ancient and a sanctuary that goes back far beyond men's memories. But it was here that Odysseus hid the gifts which the Phaeacians gave him when they rowed him back to his native island. They landed down there and the goddess Athena told him to store all his rich presents in the cave. They had given him gold and silver bowls, vestments and embroideries, and a wealth of treasure. Later on they were all taken out, after he had killed the suitors, and brought to his palace. We often dedicate small things to Odysseus, for this cave is sacred to him because of his having used it for his treasure. About fifty years ago some of the richer citizens dedicated these fine tripods to him because at that time there was a marvellous bronze-smith living here who made the best tripods in all Greece. We still burn incense in them in the cave on the birthday of Odysseus'. Homer listens and notes, and in the poem that he wrote afterwards when he got home you will find how among the gifts which Alcinous collected for his guest were many great tripods.

'Come', says Alcinous, 'let each of us give him a great tripod-bowl. Raiment for the stranger lies already stored in the polished chest, with gold, curiously wrought and all the other gifts which the leaders of the Phaeacians brought'.

And so, here and there Homer picks up a story and a hint, memorizes a view or an item of local topography, and slowly his great synthesis of all the tales the Ithakans told him is welded into the great epic.

You may ask me 'How do you know all this'? I can only answer that the facts support every guess I have made. Guesses they remain, but if we pause and think how Homer lived and how he must have composed poetry we can see how the facts we have illustrate the reconstruction I have made.

First I have shown how Odysseus could have had a palace on Ithaka. Then that the stories of his life could have survived him, from, say 1200 B.C. down to about 750 B.C., because nothing had happened in Ithaka to prevent the continuance of life and the steady handing down to father and son of the stories of the great days of the island. Then the evidence showed that about the time when Homer lived there was traffic from his land to Ithaka, and ancient record maintained that Homer did in fact go to Ithaka. There was certainly a commerce



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between the island and Homer's land which made it easy for him to go. So why not take our courage in our hands and assume that he actually did?

In the poem there stand out here and there a number of descriptions of the islands or of features near it or on it which, to me at least, bear the unmistakable stamp of personal observation. Those who read Homer, like those who read Herodotus, can almost always tell when the writer is speaking of places he has seen himself. You have to know the land of Greece fairly intimately before you can come to such decisions. But once you know Greece you can detect the indelible marks that its beauty makes on one who has seen a certain place or district. No one who had not seen the islands near Ithaka would describe the setting of the sun over in the west as the 'gloom of the west'. The sunset elsewhere in Greece does not suggest such a description. Nor would a man who had not seen Ithaka describe it as 'a goat pasture'. Nor would a man who had not seen the rocky islet of Asteris dream of mentioning it at all.

But the cave on the western shore of Ithaka seems to me to certify once and for all the visit of Homer. For the archaeologists found that cave. It was a cave sacred to the Nymphs and other deities, as the inscriptions in it proved. It was also sacred to Odysseus himself, for they found a small ornament bearing on it the simple inscription 'Dedicated with a prayer to Odysseus'. It belonged to late Greek times, perhaps the second century B.C., but it proves without any conceivable doubt at all that the Greeks of those times firmly believed that this was a cave sacred to Odysseus, and that the island was Ithaka and not some other island where Odysseus had never been. So the frantic German theory that places Ithaka anywhere but in Ithaka seems to vanish like smoke. It is hardly conceivable that some honest Greek who revered the memory of Odysseus in a cave sacred to him would choose the wrong island!

We do not know for certain that this was the cave that was identified in local legend with the cave in which Odysseus hid his gifts and wealth. But since it is near a flat beach, on the shore—to-day it is actually under water to a large extent, for the sea-level has risen in the last two thousand years—it seems more than probable that the inhabitants of Ithaka thought it was the cave in question.

The excavators of the cave found in it proof that it had been a place of worship and dedication from most remote times. The earliest remains belonged to the distant sixteenth or fifteenth century B.C., when

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it was a local holy place of unknown use. Then in Homeric times, in the Mycenaean Age, men came and left their vases and their humble gifts. Then, right through that troubled period of transition from an Age of Bronze to the Iron Age, simple peasants came and also used the cave for their dedications. And later, about the time of Homer, or perhaps a generation before, a splendid dedication of great bronze cauldrons was made. The excavators found remains of at least a dozen. These were rich and valuable offerings. If Homer saw them they must have looked like the very gifts of Odysseus himself, stored up in the gloom of the great cave. Such a sight must have remained in his memory. And so, you see, every step in my tentative hypothesis has evidence to back it. I have tried to get inside the mind of Homer, to see what he was doing and where he went. I firmly believe that his *Odyssey* was composed from a various collection of stories and personal impressions, both acquired in the beautiful island of Ithaka. For that is how poets then must have worked. That is how some poets still work. And one must always think of Homer as a Greek and not interpret his thoughts as if he were a modern European. He had that eternal blend of the securely practical and the imaginative that characterizes all Greeks at all times. Neither Greek artists nor Greek writers went in for midnight oil—a product of the long Northern nights. Greek artists never worked in the studio. Their studios were either in the open, or else the artists constantly went about to gather impressions and store up visions. They did not just sit and think and excogitate works of art. Nor did the writers of poetry write solely in their studios. To both alike Man was the measure of all things, as their proverb told them, and Man had to be studied in the flesh.

And so I believe that Homer was almost as much a traveller as Herodotus. His profession certainly forced travel upon him. He had to travel to live. And who has ever seen a Greek travel who could refrain from picking up both ideas and money en route! He was a traveller with a keen sense of that heroic past whose memory still lived in the islands. The tales he heard there fired his imagination, and in due course the creative powers, in the tranquillity of reflection, turned these tales into great poetry.

If we were to unravel the *Iliad* we should find that this epic, too, was based on much wandering and much asking of questions and collecting of legends. The more imaginative stories in the *Odyssey*, like the tale of Circe, the story of the Old Man of the Sea, the tale of Polyphemus, and all the more mysterious tales of far distant places

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whose geography we cannot recognize—tales like the strange account of the Midnight Sun, that belongs to the distant Baltic and came through the great Amber Route—all these Homer probably collected from sea-captains on the boats on which he voyaged or in inn-parlours where he drank. Like any other Greek he loved wild and strange tales told by sailors to incredulous audiences. These we find set forth in the *Odyssey* among the tales told by Odysseus, himself an arch-liar at all times. Homer knows his audience and knows when his tales are enjoyed but not believed. But when he talks of Ithaka he speaks with the authentic voice of one who had been there and his audience could check his words. So there is nothing fanciful about his account of the island. Go there and see for yourself. Ithaka, with its unlimited flowers, its abrupt hills, its vivid blue waters and its shining shore, is the very Ithaka of Homer's own words. You can walk in Homer's footsteps, from the port to the 'City of the Eagle', and from there to the cave and the ruins of what was once the Palace of Odysseus. You can be the same tourist that he was. When you return home, as he did, you can try your hand at writing another epic of Ithaka. But you will not write another ODYSSEY.



## Reviews

THE PLACE-NAMES OF WEST LOTHIAN. By ANGUS MACDONALD.  
*Edinburgh : Oliver & Boyd, 1941. pp. XL, 180. 15s.*

This finely-produced book is stated to adopt the method of the publications of the English Place-Name Society, with certain adaptations to Scottish conditions. A general introduction explains the special difficulty of the study of place-names in Scotland—paucity of early material and the linguistic complex of Celtic and English. As regards the Celtic names the difficulty is much greater in West Lothian than where the Gaelic tradition still holds, as it does over much of the North. South of Forth two great names are preserved in Gaelic, *Dùn Eideann*, Edinburgh, and *Linn Liucha* or *Linn Iucha*, Linlithgow. Otherwise, apart from modern pronunciation, we are dependent on record forms, as sketched by the author.

The historical introduction which follows deals with the various strata of languages as reflected in place-names : (a) British and Welsh ; (b) Gaelic ; (c) English, much the most numerous. An interesting point is the presence of occasional Welsh-Gaelic hybrids, e.g. W. *pen*, ' head ', becomes G. *ceann*, *cinn*, as in Peanfahel, Pengual, ' *caput valli* ', ' head of (Roman) wall ', now Kinneil. The same change is found in Kincardine for Pencardden, ' head of copse ', in N. Ross-shire, etc., and indicates the transition from Welsh to Gaelic. Other such hybrids are Kilpunt, Kilpont, earlier Kenpunt, ' head of bridge ' ; Kirkintilloch for Caer-pen-tolach, ' fort at head of eminences '. The author thinks Barnbogle is such a hybrid, deriving it from G. *barr*, ' top ', and W. *bugail*, herdsman ; but he gives us no ground for sharing the belief. Of 21 names recorded by about A.D. 1200, six or seven are Welsh, four or five Gaelic, two probably hybrids, and seven English (p. xxi). In addition, there occur later slight traces of Scandinavian and French influence, both practically negligible. The Celtic names are mostly descriptive, phrase-names beginning with *druim*, ' ridge ', *baile*, ' stead ', *dùn*, ' fort ', etc. The early English names, which occur only in the east of the county, often contain the name of the settler : Livingston, Duddingston. It is of interest to note : ' as a fairly constant factor in Lowland Scotland, if the names of the large estates are Celtic, the smaller farms are called by English names ' (p. xxv).

The body of the book deals first with river, stream and hill names. It then proceeds parish by parish, giving first the names of chief historical or etymological interest, then a group of minor names of obvious origin or names of

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which only very late forms are available. Names marked with a star have fallen into disuse, though their sites are known. The 12 parishes begin with Dalmeny in the east and end with Whitburn in the southwest. A further chapter gives the street-names of Linlithgow. This is followed by a list of the elements, apart from personal names, found in West Lothian place-names (pp. 123-38), and by the personal names compounded in the place-names (pp. 139-40). Additional field- and minor names are given for each parish, divided into six classes. An index of the county names runs to about 1200 items; there are also indexes of references to names in other Scottish counties and outside Scotland. A diagram map opposite p. 140 shows the distribution of Scandinavian, British, Gaelic and English names (S. 2, B. 10, G. 40, E. 120). It is noticeable that there are no names with British *peth* (*pit*), and only seven with Gaelic *baile*.

From what has been said it will be understood that the author has worked with method and diligence. His bibliography runs to seven closely printed pages (without, however, including my *Place-names of Ross and Cromarty*). Practically all the Celtic names, with which alone this notice concerns itself, have been explained in my *Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*, to which the author often refers; but in many cases the relation of his work to mine would have been better expressed by the note 'so CPNS' than by the frequent 'cf. CPNS'. Some few explanations, indeed, have been adopted without acknowledgment (Duntarvie, Ochiltree, Bathgate, Drumtassie, etc.), elsewhere the acknowledgment is imperfect (Abercorn). Of Carlowrie the author says my 'suggestion of the Scots name Lowrie is surely untenable', but gives no hint why; but in fact Lowrie is the Scots spelling of the Irish Loughrey, the anglicized form of an ancient Irish name (Woulfe, p. 108). Cult represents G. *cuilt*, 'nook', as in *a' Chuilt Raithnich* in Perthshire (CPNS, p. 140), not *coillte*, 'woods'. 'Bonsyde, seat at the bottom of a hill, *v. bonn, suidhe*' is worse than doubtful. 'The meaning of the name Lothian is disputed; see CPNS 101-3' etc. (p. 1): this is far too summary a dismissal of so important a name. Of the old Welshman's name Gospatrick no explanation is given. Of Linlithgow the Gaelic forms should have been given; they negative the suggested association with *liath cu* (rightly *liath-chù*), 'grey dog'; and it would have been well to mention *Tobraichean Linn* (*Ghlinn*) *Iucha*, 'the Wells of Linlithgow', one of the marvels of Scotland, and *tomhas Linn* (*Ghlinn*) *Iucha*, 'Linlithgow measure' (CPNS, p. 384). The writer is none too clear as to whether the county was included in the ancient district or province of 'Manau of the Guotodin' (i.e. of the Votadini; in Gaelic Fothudán, CPNS p. 36 and index). The genitive of Manau is Manann, seen in Clackmannan, 'the stone of Manau', and Slamannan, 'the moor of Manau'. 'The Manau theory is supported by such an authority as Professor W. J. Watson (CPNS 55-6), and is based upon the seeming resemblance of the early forms of

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the name Dalmeny to probable Manau names like Clackmannan and Slamannan' (p. xvi). The reference should be 'CPNS 103-4', where I expressly say that the second part of Dalmeny cannot be from Manau, and explain it as probably 'stone-fort'. The author's suggestion that Dalmeny may be 'fort of the monk(s)' is quite untenable. 'Inchgarvie, rough island, G. *Innis garbh*' (p. 7) does not explain the -ie ending; nor is it grammatical (for *innis gharbh*), one of many indications, large and small, that lead us to suspect that the writer's equipment in Celtic is regrettably slender.

The author is puzzled about the Picts and their language, and despairs of the problems being solved unless new material comes to light. The important thing to keep clearly in mind is that the Picts were Cruithin, i.e. Britons; for Cruithen is the Gaelic form of the British Pryden, a Briton. The Cruithin or Cruithnigh, Britons, are found in northeast Ireland as well as in Scotland; but that does not mean that the Picts were there. All Picts were Cruithnigh, but all Cruithnigh were not Picts. As to language, there need be no doubt that the Picts spoke Old British, and gradually became Gaelic-speaking under Gaelic influence, like the rest of Scotland and Ireland.

W. J. WATSON.

THE MEGIDDO IVORIES. By GORDON LOUD. Oriental Institute Publications, volume LII, *University of Chicago Press*, 1939. pp. XII, 25, with 63 plates and coloured frontispiece.

The aim of this book, as Mr Loud states 'is to present in simple, concise form the Megiddo ivories', in order to form a basis for future discussion. The result is a magnificently produced volume with an excellent series of plates, many objects being also illustrated by drawings. The text is limited to a detailed catalogue of each individual object, a description of the archaeological context of the finds, a brief discussion of their character and date, and a study of the hieroglyphic inscriptions by John A. Wilson.

The absence of any detailed study of the important question of the relationship of these ivories to the other major groups of ivories found at Enkomi, Nimrud, Khorsabad, Arslan Tash and Samaria only emphasizes the need for considering the problems arising from these finds as a whole. It is now clear that there are two main chronological periods, and the Megiddo group, which Mr Loud considers to be a collection amassed over a period of years, is dated c. 1350 to 1150 B.C. A basis for the lower date is provided by the model pen-case inscribed with the cartouch of Rameses III, and the destruction of the Palace of stratum VIIb, which in Mr Loud's view would probably have taken place during or after the decline of the Egyptian Pharaoh's power. There is little doubt that the great folk-movement described by Rameses III, and now dated c. 1190 B.C., was the cause of the destruction of the Megiddo Palace.



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The upper date is more conjectural. Mr Loud considers that the small square plaque, which shows marked Hittite characteristics, could only have been made in a period 'during which we might expect Megiddo to be under strong Hittite influence—between the decline of Egyptian power under Ikhnaton and the reconquest of Palestine by Seti I, during which time Hittite power was expanding'. At present, however, there is little evidence from the stratification at Megiddo to support this view and it is at least equally likely that the plaque could have been made at a time when the Hittites and the Egyptians were at peace, after the treaty concluded by Rameses II and Hattusilis in 1273 B.C.

As to the general character of the ivories, while one would expect to find Egyptian influence evident on certain examples, there is a third influence besides the Egyptian and the Hittite which played an important part in the composite art of these 'Canaanite-Phoenician' ivory-carvers. This is admirably illustrated at Megiddo, where the affinities of a great number of the pieces lie to the west and show distinct Mycenaean characteristics. Special mention must be made of the general treatment of the animal motives (plates 16, 22), the patterns on the round bowls (plates 27, 28), on the jar lids (plate 13), the winged griffons (plate 9), palmette and pomegranate motives (plate 21), which can be compared to the Enkomi ivories, and certainly suggest a common source of inspiration (cf. particularly Erik Sjoqvist, *Excavations in Cyprus*, plate LX).

All students of this complex subject will be exceedingly grateful to Mr Loud for publishing the Megiddo ivories on so lavish a scale, and for presenting this extremely important collection in such an acceptable form.

K. R. MAXWELL-HYSLOP.

FOUILLES DE SIALK, vol. II. By R. GHIRSHMAN. Paris: *Librarie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner*, 1941. pp. 259, 101 plates, 22 figures and coloured frontispiece. 200 francs.

Volume II of the excavations at Tepe Sialk covers the two latest periods of this important site in Iran, and gives a detailed account of the results of the excavation of two cemeteries which were discovered in 1934. Although these cemeteries had suffered from modern tomb-robbing M. Ghirshman managed to collect a mass of extremely valuable evidence. Cemetery A, the earlier of the two, was composed of open graves with the skeleton lying in a slightly crouched position. Bowls, plain jars, handled cups, beak-spouted jars, and tripod jars of red and grey ware were found, while there were only occasional examples of painted pottery. The weapons comprised socketed lance-heads and arrow-heads in bronze, a barbed javelin head and one iron dagger. Among the jewellery were pins and ear-rings of bronze, a pair of ear-rings, beads, and a pendant of gold.

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In the stimulating discussion on the foreign relations certain points may be noted. There is nothing to suggest any connexion between this cemetery and the preceding periods at Tepe Sialk. While grey pottery predominates both at Hissar III and Tureng Tepe the forms of the pottery from these sites do not show any close relationship with the Sialk pottery. M. Ghirshman concludes, however, that a number of features common to Tepe Giyan and Tepe Sialk (tripods, lugs in the form of a ram's head, etc.) imply a connexion between these two centres. There is also some interesting evidence which shows certain analogies between Sialk and Transcaucasia, although this is more marked in the succeeding period. On the basis of the dates for the preceding levels at Sialk and the fact that although iron was known it was not in general use, cemetery A is dated to c. 12th-11th centuries B.C.

In the later graveyard, cemetery B, stone was used for a covering for the graves and the pottery shows more variety in form and material. Various types of beak-spouted jars, either painted with geometric or animal designs or in plain red or black ware are common, as are spouted cups and bowls, bottles with handles and open bowls with lugs. The metal work includes beak-spouted bronze vessels and horse trappings, while the weapons are mostly of bronze or copper, notably flange-hilted daggers, socketed lance-heads, arrow-heads and a mace-head. Silver, bronze, iron and occasionally lead were used for ornaments and jewellery.

From an anthropometric study of the skulls from this cemetery Professor H. Vallois concludes that the people of this period, who were of Armenoid stock, represent an entirely new element at Sialk which was unknown in the preceding period. It is evident that they were a well-armed military people and M. Ghirshman believes that there must have been a definite ethnic migration between southeast Europe and Iran. The excavations at Solduz near Lake Urmia are published in this volume for the first time, and while the connexions between cemetery B at Sialk and Solduz, Hissar and the Luristan tombs are not surprising, the importance of the analogies with the Talish region, Transcaucasia and the Caucasus, especially as shown in the weapons, cannot be overstressed. Although the question of the relationship between the Caucasus, Transcaucasia and Iran is confused by lack of adequate dating criteria for the Russian sites, yet the evidence both archaeological and anthropological from Tepe Sialk is an extremely valuable contribution to this intriguing problem. How much can be based on slight analogies with Phrygian civilization however, is extremely questionable. M. Ghirshman dates cemetery B from the 12th-11th centuries to the 9th, or beginning of the 8th century B.C. The traces of Assyrian influence which he cites are interesting, but in the absence of independent confirmation it is dangerous to place too much reliance on their value in dating the end of this period.

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Chapter 5 summarizes the development of civilization in ancient Iran, but in view of Mr Sidney Smith's revised dating for the 1st Dynasty of Babylon, this now needs some modification and the slender evidence which at present exists does not warrant M. Ghirshman's assumptions about the relationship of the Hurrites and the Kassites. The scope of the book is very usefully enlarged by Professor Vallois' extremely valuable discussion of the anthropological material accumulated from excavated sites in Iran. The photographs are good and clear but in addition to the measurements of the objects given in the catalogue a scale would be useful. In general, M. Ghirshman has placed before the reader much which will repay careful study, and it will be a real loss if the distractions of the war prevent a proper appreciation of this work.

K. R. MAXWELL-HYSLOP.

PAPERS OF THE EXCAVATORS' CLUB. Vol. 1, nos. 1-3. The Archaeology of northeastern Asia, by E. MOTT DAVIS, junr. pp. 58, 6 *text-figures and map*; Distribution and Significance of Ball Courts in the southwest, by CHESTER S. CHARD. pp. 18; Excavations in the Water-side Shell Heap, Frenchman's Bay, Maine, by JOHN HOWLAND ROWE. pp. 22, 3 *plans, sections, 4 photographs and line drawings*. Published by The Excavators' Club, Cambridge, Mass. 1940.

These papers constitute the first members of a new series from the United States, which we are glad to welcome. The Excavators' Club consists of archaeologists, most of whom seem to live in the neighbourhood of Cambridge, Mass., and the papers are best introduced in the Club's own words, viz. they 'are published at irregular intervals and embody the results of field work carried on by, or under the auspices of, the Club, as well as papers by members or associates dealing with subjects in the general field of archaeology'. The first two fall into the latter category and the third into the former. They are printed by lithographing the typescript, and are illustrated principally by line drawings, though a few half-tone photographs have been added to no. 3. The maps and sections would gain enormously in appearance if the lettering were improved.

If the present members of the series are a guide to the general policy of the Club, we may expect to be indebted to it for undertaking tasks which badly need doing, but which do not necessarily produce highly spectacular results.

In view of the importance of northeast Asia to American archaeology, Mr Davis's paper promised to be of outstanding interest, but it must be confessed that the results are disappointing. He has done a useful work in digesting a large number of inaccessible publications, and in presenting the results clearly



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with a commendable absence of speculation, but he has not been able to bring forward any evidence bearing on the origin of the New World population. With the exception of the 'Amur Palaeolithic' stations near Khabarovsk, about which no information is forthcoming, all the sites described are classified as belonging to a widespread and comparatively uniform culture which is labelled 'Neolithic'. It is characterized by polished and chipped stone implements, of types which are widespread both in time and space in America, by bone weapons and tools, and by simple types of pottery. The impression given is that the whole culture is comparatively recent in date, having lasted, perhaps, to within two centuries of our own time.

Although the bibliography shows that the author has consulted a large number of works on the subject, he has missed some of particular interest which were quoted in Dr Grahame Clark's article 'New World Origins' in *ANTIQUITY*, June 1940. In this Dr Clark sets forth evidence, from the Lake Baikal region, which includes stratification, burials, and stone implements showing resemblances to the Yuma points of North America, all of which tend to the existence of a culture older than Mr Davis's 'Neolithic'.

The illustrations are clear, but in some cases there is no scale at all, and in the others dimensions are given in the reference at the bottom of the page. It would have been better to have included drawn scales in the illustrations themselves. The map suffers much from being printed on two pages with a gap of about an inch and a half between the northern and southern halves.

The importance of Ball Courts as an indication of a possible connexion between the Maya culture and those of the southwest United States is obvious, and the recognition of an increasing number, now about 70, in the southwest has prompted Mr Chard to investigate the evidence connected with them. He says that the results are disappointing, and he rightly pours scorn on the speculations of some previous writers.

The established facts about the courts may be summed up as follows. There is a large, relatively complex form, the Snaketown, which is earlier in date than the smaller, simpler Casa Grande type, which is the commoner. They are confined to Arizona, and can be definitely assigned to the Hohokam Culture. It is reasonable to assume that they really were used for some kind of ball game, but there is no evidence as to what the game was, in fact the two kinds may have been used for different games. Finally, though there is every probability that the courts are related to the Maya ones, there is no evidence whatever as to what the relationship was.

If this paper acts as a stimulus to further research, both on the courts themselves and on the area between Arizona and Central Mexico, it will have served its purpose.

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Mr Rowe's excavation in the Waterside Shell Heap produced evidence of two periods of occupation, of which the upper had pottery and the lower had not. The lower contained an assemblage of objects, mainly stone implements, and in particular slate 'bayonet points', plummets, gouges and adzes, which is also characteristic of Dr Moorehead's 'Red Paint' culture, a term which he dislikes with good reason, proposing 'Moorehead Complex' instead. The author gives names to these two periods, but they do not seem to serve any useful purpose, since the 'Moorehead Complex' is found associated with pottery a short distance inland, in fact the author himself calls attention to the purely local character of the cultures. He attempts to correlate them with two known groups of Indians, suggesting that pottery was introduced by the second, which drove the first inland. Finally he admits that there is no evidence for dating the deposits, but suggests tentatively that the oldest cannot be much before A.D. 1200 and that pottery may have been introduced *c.* 1500.

It is difficult to see why it was necessary to mark some of the illustrations 'slightly reduced' and the others ' $< \frac{1}{2}$ ', and to explain in the key that the first lot were  $\frac{4}{5}$ th natural size and the others  $\frac{2}{5}$ th. It would have been so much simpler to include scales in the drawings themselves. G. H. S. BUSHNELL.

POPULATION CHANGES IN THE RIO GRANDE GLAZE-PAINT AREA. By H. P. MERA. Technical Series, Bulletin no. 9. Laboratory of Anthropology, Santa Fé, New Mexico, 1940. *pp.* 41.

In this paper, Dr Mera follows up a series of studies of Pueblo pottery with an attempt to date the various polychrome groups, described in previous publications, which succeeded the black-on-white wares in the Rio Grande area of New Mexico. Having done this, he subdivides the area, for convenience, into a number of divisions based on the distribution of the linguistic groups which lived there in the 17th century, and attempts to assess the changes in distribution and density of population in each division by marking the villages which were occupied at each pottery stage on a series of maps.

In the first part of the paper, the pottery stages are dated by a combination of dendrochronology and historical data, beginning with the displacement of black-on-white by red ware in the mid-14th century, and ending with the disappearance of glaze-painting in the early 18th century. The evidence for the dating of the stages is not uniform in value, but when it is reviewed as a whole it is clear that a very close approximation to the truth has been arrived at.

In the second part, having discussed each division of the area in detail, he gives a useful summary, in which he suggests a reason for the variations in the number and position of the occupied sites, coming to the conclusion that invasion, or the threat of it, by nomads from outside the area, was responsible for

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most of the changes. In the discussion of the individual divisions conciseness could have been gained by grouping some of the smaller ones, which contain very few sites, with their more important neighbours; but this is a small matter.

There is one serious fault which must be found with an otherwise excellent work, and that is one to which the writer has had to call attention in a previous review of one of Dr Mera's publications (see *ANTIQUITY*, June 1940), namely the lack of scale on the maps. There is a general map of the area, and twenty-nine maps of sub-divisions on at least two different scales, and not one of them has any sort of scale marked on it. We can make a reasonable guess as to their orientation, but the absence of scale from maps published by a scientific institution is quite unpardonable.

G. H. S. BUSHNELL.

A VARIATION OF SOUTHWESTERN PUEBLÓ CULTURE, *by* J. D. JENNINGS, with Analysis of the Skeletal Material, *by* GEORG NEUMANN. Technical Series, Bulletin no. 10. Laboratory of Anthropology, Santa Fé, New Mexico, 1940. *pp.* v, 20, *and 2 maps, 2 plans, 1 text-fig., 8 plates.*

This is a description of some excavations, admittedly incomplete, in the valley of the Rio Peñasco, a tributary of the Pecos River in New Mexico. The results, however, are of some interest, and they have been published at this stage because they are thought to have some bearing on the Mogollon culture, of the area west of the Rio Grande, which is attracting attention at present.

Work was done on three sites, lying within three miles of one another, and the results, as far as they go, are consistent. At site 2000 A 1, where most digging was done, two superimposed floors were found; they do not differ much in age, but can be distinguished by their pottery content and other details. The lower contains a predominance of an unnamed brown ware, which is described, and, in the upper, El Paso Polychrome is the main constituent. There is no wood available for dating the occupations, but from intrusive pottery types from the north and west it has been deduced that *c.* 1150-1300 will cover both.

The material culture of the people is described, and it appears that they cultivated maize, but also depended largely on hunting for their food supply, besides making use of mesquite beans. The houses were built in a pit 12 to 18 inches deep, the roof being supported by posts and the walls probably consisting of light material such as grass or reeds. The fireplace consisted of a pit in the middle of the floor. Burials were in shallow graves outside the houses, and the skeletons were placed on their backs in a flexed position. In two cases bowls were inverted over the faces, and one of these had been 'killed' by punching a hole through it.

The connexion with the Mogollon culture appears rather nebulous. It is



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suggested that the houses are related though they are by no means identical, but the chief reason given is the 'oxidising technique of pottery firing, which has given rise to a number of little-differentiated brown-ware types common to most of the southern south-western ceramic areas', a statement whose value cannot be appraised without seeing the pottery on which it is based.

The analysis of the skeletal material consists of an elaborate disquisition on a single skull. It belongs to a woman 30 to 35 years old, and shows cradle-board flattening. The conclusion is reached that the Peñasco skull is of Pueblo physical type. For comparison an account of skeletons associated with the Mogollon culture is given, and it appears that an early Pueblo type was replaced by a later type of different characteristics. Whatever significance this may prove to have in the future, it must be emphasized that reliable conclusions cannot be based on the study of one or even a few skulls.

The illustrations are in half-tone and are satisfactory on the whole, though they tend in some cases to be a trifle woolly. One of the maps and the illustrations of the pottery lack scales.

G. H. S. BUSHNELL.

### A SIXTH CENTURY MONASTERY AT BETH-SHAN (SCYTHOPOLIS).

(Publications of the Palestine Section of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, volume IV). By G. M. FITZGERALD. Philadelphia 1939. pp. 19, 22 plates. Price not stated.

An account of a small complex of buildings which were excavated in 1930 by the Expedition of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, under the direction of Mr G. M. FitzGerald. The buildings lay between the city wall and the crest of the old cemetery slope which rises on the north side of the river Jalud. Three splendid mosaic floors, others of minor interest, and seven mosaic inscriptions were found in an exceptionally fine state of preservation; of the walls and other architectural features little survived but enough to yield a ground-plan of the whole.

The most original of the floors covered a central court measuring some 16 metres by 9. A calendar medallion in the middle of this pavement contained pictures of the twelve months with attributes which vary somewhat from those on the Byzantine calendars published by Strzygowski; the Latin name of each month and the number of days are written below it in Greek letters, and busts of the sun and moon stand in the centre; the field around it, which is divided into octagonal panels, contains some spirited scenes and a mass of smaller varied designs. A mosaic inscription (no. 1) which lies to the southwest corner of the court at the main entrance, commemorates four notables of the place—the illustrious Zosimus who was already dead, the most glorious ex-prefect John, the Christ-loving Counts Peter and Anastasius, and all their blessed house.

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A small tomb, 1.90 metres square, with a door on each side and one wall originally faced with marble, stands at the northeast corner of this court, and an inscription in the entrance (no. II) again commemorates the ex-prefect John.

An apsidal chapel, 11.80 metres long, was approached through an ante-chamber on the east side of the court. Except for two spaces at the east end which were reserved for graves and inscriptions, the main field of the floor in front of the apse is covered with pictures of birds in linked circles; there are eighty-two altogether and the effect is monotonous. Broken patches in the apse mosaics show where the altar stood, and 1.35 metres west of the altar the limestone foundation blocks of the chancel rail were found lying, as is often the case, on the top of the mosaics. An inscription (no. III) in front of the door which led from the ante-chamber into the chapel, mentions the Christ-loving Lady Mary, her son Maximus and their forefathers, and another (no. IV) which is above a grave at the southeast corner of the chapel refers to the Lady Mary as the founder of this *ναός*. The last inscription, which contains some very obscure words, ends with an anathema pronounced by the recluse Elias on anyone after him who hindered the Lady Mary or any of her family from being buried in that tomb if they so desired. In an inscription (no. V) over a second grave at the northeast corner which begins with the same obscure words, the recluse Elias records that he buried his Christ-loving sister Georgia who died on a day which, according to some calculations by Mr Chitty, must have been 4 May, 567.

Elias is mentioned for the third time on an inscription in the door of a small room next to the tomb of John on the north side of the court. According to this inscription (no. VI) the work was completed in the time of Elias, priest and recluse, in a year of which unfortunately two of the letters are missing; it seems to have been either 553-4 or 568-9. A unique archaising capital hollowed on the top to serve some secondary purpose was standing near the door. The floor mosaics provide an admirable example of the popular vine-trellis pattern, the usual scenes of vintage and the chase being exceptionally well rendered.

The only other rooms which call for note are two lying northwest of the court which were remodelled at a later date, and paved with mosaics in the time of the priest and *hegumen* George and the *deuterarius* Comitas, obviously successors of Elias (no. VII).

The date which is given by the inscriptions is entirely consistent with the designations of the notables and the style of the mosaics, but it is none the less welcome as mosaics are difficult to date. We are not certain that Mr FitzGerald is equally justified in calling the complex a monastery. No doubt monasteries as small existed, but one recluse does not make a monastery, nor even does a *hegumen* and a *deuterarius* and nothing in the lay-out or in the inscriptions—as we might have expected (see the inscription on p. 19)—compels us to recognize



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these buildings as monastic. The establishment was certainly built as a private burial-place by a prominent local family, and it seems legitimate to ask whether it may not have been more of the nature of a mourning-house such as one still sees in Egypt, with an estate of its own—the later works, we note, are not built by Elias and George respectively but ‘in their time’, i.e. while they were chaplains. It is a matter on which we should like to know more. As a sign of the times we note further that it is the priest, not as in pagan days the owner or founder of the buildings, who anathematizes possible intruders. The six notables who are mentioned by name belonged presumably to the same family but we are not told how they were all related. Was Lady Mary, for example, sister or widow or daughter of John? The find of coins of Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine suggests that the place was not deserted until after the Arab conquest in 636 when the family may have been extinct or the estate confiscated.

The illustrations of the mosaics are excellent and Mr FitzGerald has dealt most faithfully and learnedly with all the ‘minute particulars’ of the excavation, but we wish that he had let himself go a little more freely in the way of general discussion.

J.W.C.

Περιοδικὸν τοῦ ἐν Χίῳ Συλλόγου Ἀργέντη. Vol. I, parts 1–2, 1938–9. *Printed by* Kyriakoules, Athens. Annual subscription, 7s.

In 1932, through the influence of Mr Philip Argentes a Chian resident in London, there was founded a society for the preservation of everything that is characteristic of life in Chios. A small folk-museum was instituted, and now the Argentes Society has begun to issue a periodical, appearing in June and December. Its interests are catholic. In part I Th. Tsokos, in the course of an article on epigraphy, proves from inscriptions and other remains that a shrine of Artemis once stood near the site of the church of St. Zacharias. In part II, K. D. Mertziotis establishes the date of the theft of the head of St. Isidore. The saint's body was taken to Venice in 1125, but the head was kept as an object of veneration by the Chians till it disappeared in 1626. The contemporary letters now published may be of interest to students of the development of the modern Greek language. Other articles in volume I deal with native industries, e.g. pottery, the cultivation of the *Schinus* from which mastich is produced; and the manufacture of *rhasopannos*, the coarse cloth for the shepherds' cloaks; and modern conditions of life in the island. Legends of buried treasure, folk-songs and ancient local festivals are also dealt with. The record of peculiar words from local dialects will be of use to lexicographers of the future. The journal is well printed and illustrated.

J. F. DOBSON.